

**For Reference**

---

**NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM**



# For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

## EX LIBRIS UNIVERSITATIS ALBERTAENSIS











Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2019 with funding from  
University of Alberta Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/Suelzle1969>



THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE FEMALE SEX ROLE

by



MARIJEAN SUELZLE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1969





Thesis  
1969  
132

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and  
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance,  
a thesis entitled The Female Sex Role submitted by Marijean  
Suelzle in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of Master of Arts.





## ABSTRACT

The profound legal and social changes affecting the status of women which have occurred over the past few decades have led to a variety of predictions as to the meaning and consequences of these changes for the nuclear family and for society in general. To examine these predictions and evaluate their validity, an abstract was undertaken of empirical research concerned with some aspect of the female sex role, published from 1960 to the present in the following sources: F. Ivan Nye and Lois Wladis Hoffman (Eds.), The Employed Mother in America, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963, American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Marriage and the Family (Marriage and Family Living), Pacific Sociological Review, Social Forces, Sociological Quarterly, Sociology and Social Research, and Sociometry.

The material surveyed is divided into two major sub-areas: (1) female sex-role learning and development, with emphasis on the acquisition of personality traits and attitudes versus the acquisition of role behaviors, and (2) adult female sex roles, with the emphasis on the patterns of participation in the internal system of the nuclear family and external systems in terms of career, extended family, and community participation.

A summary of role learning and enactment is presented in the form of a series of fifty-one hypotheses, empirical generalizations which codify contemporary research. Individual studies are critically evaluated within this framework and directions for future research are suggested.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>		<u>PAGE</u>
I.	Introduction . . . . .	1
	A. Background . . . . .	1
	B. The Problem . . . . .	9
	C. Procedure . . . . .	14
II.	Sex-Role Identification and Learning . . . . .	21
	A. Abstract of Empirical Research . . . . .	21
	1. Aggression and Dependence . . . . .	21
	2. Learning Parental and Sex-Role Identification	25
	3. Effects of Maternal Employment on Sex-Role Learning and Development . . . . .	29
	a. Sex of Children Not Differentiated . . . . .	30
	b. Sex of Children Differentiated . . . . .	36
	4. Structural Aspects of the Family Related to Sex-Role Learning . . . . .	42
III.	Sex-Role Identification and Learning (cont.) . . . . .	50
	B. Empirical Generalizations: A Codification of Contemporary Research . . . . .	50
	1. Introduction . . . . .	50
	2. General Hypotheses . . . . .	52
	a. Personality Traits and Role Behaviors as Learned Attributes . . . . .	52
	b. Maternal Influence on Child's Personality Traits and Role Behaviors . . . . .	55
	3. Personality Traits and Attitudes . . . . .	58
	a. Influence of Maternal Employment . . . . .	58
	b. Influence of Family Structure . . . . .	61





CHAPTERPAGE

c.	Masculinity-Femininity in General . . . . .	64
4.	Role Behaviors . . . . .	65
a.	Influence of Maternal Employment on Delinquency . . . . .	65
b.	Influence of Maternal Employment on Academic Performance . . . . .	66
c.	Influence of Maternal Employment on Other Role Behaviors . . . . .	69
d.	Influence of Maternal Employment by Social Class . . . . .	71
5.	Conclusions and Specific Hypotheses . . . . .	77
a.	Discontinuities in Research . . . . .	79
b.	Same-Sex and Cross-Sex Interaction Patterns	83
c.	Methodological Problems . . . . .	87
IV.	Adult Female Sex Roles . . . . .	91
A.	Abstract of Empirical Research . . . . .	91
1.	Role Choice Among Adolescents . . . . .	91
a.	Marriage and Career . . . . .	91
b.	Mate Selection . . . . .	100
2.	The Marriage Role . . . . .	103
a.	Conflict and Adjustment, Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction . . . . .	103
b.	Power and the Division of Labor . . . . .	128
3.	Maternal Role . . . . .	147
4.	Career Role . . . . .	163
5.	Extended Family and Community Roles . . . . .	171





CHAPTERPAGE

V.	Adult Female Sex Roles (cont.) . . . . .	185
B.	Empirical Generalizations: A Codification of Contemporary Research . . . . .	185
1.	Introduction . . . . .	185
2.	General Hypotheses . . . . .	185
a.	Social-Psychological Implications of Adult Status . . . . .	188
b.	Role Choice as a Range of Options . . . . .	191
c.	Mate Selection as the Process Whereby a Female Moves into the Marriage Role . . . . .	193
3.	Specific Hypotheses Relating to Marital Interaction . . . . .	195
a.	The Relationship of General Role Components to Marital Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction . . . . .	196
b.	The Relationship of Status Congruency to Marital Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction . . . . .	202
c.	The Relationship of Role Sharing to Marital Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction . . . . .	204
d.	The Relationship of the Wife's Participation in the Labor Force to Marital Satisfaction- Dissatisfaction . . . . .	207
e.	Power Relationships in the Nuclear Family . . . . .	208
f.	Theoretical and Methodological Problems in the Measurement of Power Relationships in the Nuclear Family . . . . .	215
4.	Specific Hypotheses Relating to the Maternal Role . . . . .	217
a.	Social Sources of Pregnancy as Illness or Normality . . . . .	218
b.	Parenthood as a Crisis Situation . . . . .	221
c.	Mental Illness and the Maternal Role . . . . .	224



CHAPTERPAGE

d. Mothers' Attitudes Towards Their Children	225
5. Specific Hypotheses Relating to the Career Role . . . . .	228
a. Background Variables Related to Career Commitment . . . . .	229
b. The Relationship of Prejudice to Career Commitment . . . . .	231
c. Sex Differences in Career Patterns . . . . .	236
6. Specific Hypotheses Relating to Extended Family and Community Roles . . . . .	240
a. The Role of the Female in Extended Family and Informal Social Networks . . . . .	240
b. Leisure Activity Patterns . . . . .	247
c. The Role of the Female in Voluntary Associations . . . . .	250
7. Conclusions . . . . .	251
VI. Summary of Central Problems . . . . .	260
A. Adult Female Sex Roles . . . . .	263
B. Socialization into the Female Sex Role . . . . .	268
C. Conclusions . . . . .	269
Bibliography . . . . .	273



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Background

Perhaps there is no topic on which more has been written and about which there is less systematic knowledge than that of the female sex role. Doubtless one of the major problems is, in fact, the sheer volume of literature which has been published on the topic, much of which has, unfortunately from a scientific point of view, been distorted to an unknown degree by its overtones of sentimentalism, wishful thinking, historical myth, and ideological commitment of the individual writer to some a priori belief about the female's "proper place".

From the beginning of social science research, the female has been stereotyped in terms of the full gamut of all that is best, worst, and most inexplicable in human behavior. During the Victorian era the female was ideologically polarized into either the role of the lady, the pure, ultra-sensitive creature who would swoon on the slightest provocation, or into the role of the prostitute or the servant girl, the sexual object. Social Darwinism provided the link between these two polar types: the female was simply an inferior form of biological evolution.<sup>1</sup>

Within this ideological framework the expectation for the male was that he would be the sole breadwinner for his family and the absolute head of his household. The expectation for the female was that she would be cast in a complementary role, tending the home and family





while remaining subservient to the male head of the household, her husband if she was married or her father if she was not. While some women at the turn of the century doubtless had a great deal of personal autonomy, this autonomy was largely restricted to nonremunerative enterprises, such as church or charity work, the running of an extensive household of hired help, or assisting with a family business or farm. A characteristic of the middle and upper classes, and of the "respectable" working classes was that the female household members were not engaged in remunerative employment outside the home. Those women who were engaged in remunerative pursuits, such as taking in boarders, as hired household help, as governesses, or as seamstresses, signified the personal failure of some male household member either through illness, incompetence, or absence due to desertion or death--the failure of her father to provide for his family if she was single, or the failure of her husband if she was married. Except as a widow or as a sole surviving heir, the female was granted social, legal and property rights only in terms of her relationship to a male household member.

Attendant upon this sharp normative distinction between the male as wage earner and the female as homemaker, the traditional expectation was for the female to be submissive, conforming, dependent, and nurturant; for the male to be strong, aggressive, dominant, and achievement oriented. But this stereotype was strongly challenged in the Western world which was rapidly moving toward urbanization, rationalization, and industrialization. Free and compulsory public school education for both sexes, improved working conditions in industry,



the introduction of machines for which the male's superior strength was no longer required, the demand for cheap labor, the advent of two World Wars which reduced the potential male work force--these were some of the factors which induced the female into the labor force in ever-increasing numbers. Simultaneously, as production shifted from the home to the factory, the woman's work load in the home was reduced, thus facilitating her entry into the labor force.

Three succeeding waves of types of women who entered the labor force during this period can be identified:

1. Women from the lowest socioeconomic classes who were forced to work in menial, poorly-paid positions due to economic necessity, and single females from the middle classes.
2. Married women from the upper lower and middle classes who (a) were the sole or primary source of income for their family unit during the Depression when employers were under strong social pressure to spread the jobs by having no more than one wage earner per family, and (b) were subsequently recruited to participate during war economy with its attendant shortage of males in the labor force.
3. Married women from the middle classes who were living with their employed husbands and whose income supplemented the family earnings.<sup>2</sup>

Concomitant with these economic and social changes was the demand, emanating from both men and women, for legalized "equality" between the sexes. At the same time production had shifted from the home to the factory, the cost of paying for the additional goods and services, supplied by factory production, was transferred to the earning power of household members. The North American cultural ideals



of the Protestant ethic, self-fulfillment, and the right of each individual to happiness, increasingly became associated with educational and career attainment, the pay check and its rate of increase. At the same time the ability of the homemaker role to fulfill these cultural ideals for the female was widely called into question.

The demand for "equality" between the sexes was thus presented in a society undergoing rapid social change with respect to the positions that females were allowed, or even encouraged, to occupy. As women took their place with men in the labor force many of these demands for equality were granted as they achieved the right to the franchise, legal and property rights, equal pay for equal work, compulsory and free public school education, and admittance to higher educational institutions and the professions.

These changes occurred both as cause and consequence of a changing intellectual climate which witnessed the decline of the doctrines of Social Darwinism and biological determinism,<sup>3</sup> and the parallel rise of the doctrine of cultural relativism and the behavioristic movement. Receiving its impetus from many sources,<sup>4</sup> the subordinate position which the female had occupied in Western society was no longer regarded as a resultant of her inherent biological inferiority, but was regarded as a consequence of differential cultural conditioning. Thus, the implicit, if not explicit, belief behind the demand for legalized equality of the sexes was that if equal opportunities were afforded, emancipated females would demonstrate their inherent equality by achieving prominence in careers and the professions in equal numbers, and in equality of contributions,





with males.

Both behaviorally and ideologically, the initial movement towards equality of the sexes was in many respects not merely a reaction against the existing social order of male-female superordination-subordination, but an overreaction insofar as "equality" was equated on the part of many with "identity". Behaviorally the equation of these two concepts was evinced by those of the early ardent, aggressive feminists who shunned marriage and motherhood as well as other symbols such as "feminine" wearing apparel.<sup>6</sup> Ideologically the equation of these two concepts was apparent in the work of early investigators insofar as they regarded sex differences as a source of error to be systematically eliminated and attempted to construct measures which would yield standard undifferentiated scores between males and females.<sup>7</sup>

Paradoxically a belief in the "normalcy" of the patterned interaction of male dominant-female subordinate relationship was retained, especially with respect to the marriage relationship. The use of the word "normal" was confused as it was variously used to refer to that which is most common, that which is morally right, and that which is healthy. This Orwellian doctrine of "both sexes are equal but one sex is more equal than the other" played havoc with social science research in the area of the female sex role. In the absence of systematic empirical evidence the armchair philosophers had a heyday. An equalitarian doctrine carried no compelling logic that the male should be the only wage earner in a family. The right of the female to work if she was single or if it was economically



necessary for the welfare of her family (or country as in wartime) was recognized and culturally sanctioned. The crux of the issue centered around: (1) the expectation that the career and homemaker roles were incompatible, and (2) the expectation that in the marriage relationship the "normal" male dominant-female subordinate relationship was patterned in terms of the husband as breadwinner and wife as homemaker. In the former case the role conflict supposedly experienced by the female in choosing between marriage and motherhood versus career was postulated as one of the major social problems of the 20th century.<sup>8</sup> In the latter case the working mother was chosen as the simple and sovereign explanation for many other social problems such as "increasing" delinquency, mental illness, and alcoholism rates. The working wife was characterized as exhibiting a need for power and dominance, and seen as usurping the (legitimate) role of her husband.<sup>9</sup>

Accumulating research evidence failed to confirm such simple and sovereign explanations per se. A growing body of data pointed to the unquestionable fact that sex differences did exist on many of the measures employed.<sup>10</sup> While a consistent pattern began to emerge in many areas for males, no such pattern appeared to emerge for females. For example, in the measurement of masculinity-femininity, college males whose scores placed them at the masculine end of the continuum could be shown to be better adjusted by various measures such as the MMPI, or by using a clinical versus a control sample, than were males whose scores placed them at the feminine pole of such a continuum. Equivocal results pertained for females.<sup>11</sup> In the areas of the measurement of Achievement<sup>12</sup> or ambition, males could be placed along



a continuum in terms of a hierarchical arrangement towards a goal or ideal and this placement could be related to such measures as education, occupation, and income. Studies with females in these areas yielded results inconsistent with those from males and inconsistent with each other.<sup>13</sup> In the area of career and professional attainment, the absolute number of women in the labor force at virtually all occupational levels has steadily increased throughout this century. But whether in terms of income, extent of participation, or standards of excellence or contribution, women rank lower than men on any absolute comparative basis and thus have not fulfilled the expectations of the earlier advocates of equality between the sexes.<sup>14</sup>

Rather than regarding the failure to empirically demonstrate a pattern for females which would parallel that for males as a challenge for further investigation, trends in social science research until the late 1950's, and which are still somewhat in evidence were:

1. to ignore patterned sex differences and treat data from males and females as comparable,
2. to create a more homogeneous population by dealing with males only, as for example in the areas of Achievement, deviance and criminology, etc., or
3. to focus on an empirical explication of absolute sex differences within a narrow, trait specific, testing of hypotheses with little if any theoretical guidelines, as for example investigating an hypothesized greater conformity of females than males to various sources of social influence.





Within the last decade several factors have operated to counteract the research tactics outlined above. First, an accumulating body of empirical studies mapping the extent and nature of sex differences has alerted the social scientist to the necessity of systematically taking these differences into account.<sup>15</sup> Secondly, there has been a shifting emphasis in the intellectual climate from a belief in cultural determinism or behaviorism to a focus on the interaction of the individual with the environment.<sup>16</sup> Thirdly, as social and legal conditions have changed to provide more nearly equal opportunities for males and females, an increasing number of women have achieved professional status and have demonstrated career competence. Concomitant with these changes has been a decline in the felt necessity to demonstrate equality between the sexes, and an increased interest in examining the differences which do pertain.<sup>17</sup>

As a function of all these factors, scientific interest is moving towards an explication of the process or processes underlying the equivocal results in female sex role research. The study of the female sex role has become recognized as an area in its own right. While comparison with data from males can be illuminating as descriptive of absolute differences which do exist, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the female sex role is neither the obverse of the stereotyped male sex role in North American society, nor are the two sex roles identical, as was so naively believed in the past.





## B. The Problem

The present study was undertaken to investigate contemporary research in the social sciences which has focussed on the female sex role. Selected empirical studies were systematically abstracted to facilitate a comparison of results. Such a rigorous analysis was deemed necessary because of the lack of a consistent pattern of findings for females in many areas and because of the lack of a dialogue between researchers investigating various aspects of the female sex role. In the absence of any form of unified theoretical framework or orientation, results have tended to be restricted in scope and insights developed in one sub-area have not, for the most part, been applied in other sub-areas.

The initial problem was conceptualized as the task of explicating, organizing and integrating a diverse body of data, in some instances apparently having little more in common than their underlying concern with the female sex role. In order to facilitate this aspect of the task, studies were broadly classified in terms of two general topics: (1) female sex role identification and learning, i.e., studies primarily concerned with the process of socialization, and (2) adult female sex roles, i.e., studies primarily concerned with some aspect of the two general roles available to adult females in Western culture--the marriage and homemaking role and/or the career role.

Throughout the ensuing discussion two distinctions are deemed of sufficient conceptual importance that they warrant discussion in terms of defining the problem, rather than being reserved for the



final codification of the studies examined. These distinctions, while seldom recognized or treated explicitly by the various authors surveyed, should be kept in mind as the unifying concepts about which the diversity of studies achieve some measure of integration, thus enabling the formulation of a gestalt.

The first distinction which must be drawn is that between (1) psychological or personality traits demonstrated or believed to be associated with the female as opposed to the male, presumably in all societies, and (2) role behaviors which are normatively prescribed as appropriate to the female as opposed to the masculine sex role in Western society. This distinction can be illustrated with reference to two parallel dimensions representative of this distinction, that of aggression-submission and that of superordination-subordination.

With reference to aggression and submission, the expectation is that these are generalizable traits or features integrated in the personality structure of an individual such that in a wide variety of situations and under diverse conditions, males as a group will tend to exhibit more aggressive, domineering, independent or competitive behavior than will females, and conversely females as a group will tend to exhibit more conforming, adaptive, and dependent behavior than will males. Whether these traits are biologically inherent or socially learned or some combination of both is not at issue here, nor is the (valid) contention that some females may be more aggressive than some males and vice versa. What is deemed crucial is the demonstration and/or belief that these are generalizable traits such that if behavior is categorized in terms of a continuum of aggression-conformity, the



statistical composite which will emerge is one of two distinct, albeit overlapping, sex-linked curves with males tending towards the aggressive pole and females tending towards the submissive pole. A second crucial aspect of this distinction is that an implicit underlying assumption is one of a "more-less" or quantitative aspect to such a categorization. An individual can ideally be described as aggressive, with reference to some external scale or criteria, and once so classified the degree of aggressiveness so assigned also would imply the converse of a correspondingly lesser degree of submissiveness. Again, this would not imply that such an individual would exhibit nothing but aggressive behavior, but merely that agreement can be reached that an individual can in general be classified as an "aggressive person" or as having an "aggressive personality".

On the other hand, the dimension of superordination-subordination acquires meaning only in terms of a patterned interaction between at least two people. This dimension then is not generalizable to a particular person, but is specific to a particular relationship or social situation. A normative expectation may be expressed that a male will assume a superordinate position with respect to a particular female, his wife; however, in another social context the normative expectation may be expressed that the same male will assume a subordinate position with respect to another particular female, his mother (in accordance with the normative prescription that it is proper to exhibit deferential behavior with respect to age) or with respect to a generalized group of females such as those who occupy a higher socioeconomic or occupational position (in accordance with the normative prescription





that it is proper to exhibit deferential behavior appropriate to socially structured hierarchical positions). It thus is not logical to speak of a "superordinate person" for an individual can only assume a superordinate position with reference to specifiable relationships. In brief, then, when reference is made to female personality traits the underlying assumption is that this is a behavioral predisposition which will manifest itself in general in a wide variety of situations, whereas when reference is made to the female sex role the underlying assumption is that this is a situation-specific structured relationship.

The importance of this distinction has become apparent due to the increasing number of roles available to the female due to the changes outlined previously. In an earlier era when the female was normally expected to enact a subordinate position to the male in every social and legal respect (allowing for gross age and status differentials), the personality traits of submissiveness, conformity, and nurturance were doubtless instilled in her by the socialization process while also enabling her most easily to fulfill all her societal roles. Thus the Parsonian model of the nuclear family depicting the son and father as instrumental specialists, with the father as instrumental leader, and the mother and daughter as expressive specialists, with the mother as expressive leader,<sup>18</sup> might have been an adequate first approximation of the situation throughout most of society. However, the entrance of large number of females into the labor force, and especially the increasing number of mothers with employed husbands in the labor force, may have invalidated his model



as descriptive of at least a substantial minority of the nuclear families in contemporary society.

The second distinction which then must be made is that between the various social systems in which the contemporary female may be enmeshed. The first and most obvious of these distinctions is that between what Homans has termed the internal and external social systems,<sup>19</sup> in terms of the present discussion the nuclear family and the larger society, respectively. Focussing attention on the adult female as mother and wife in the nuclear family, one question which arises is that of how her participation in the external system affects role relationships in the internal system. If she is an active participant in the labor force does this affect role relationships qualitatively (i.e., alter the type of relationship), quantitatively (i.e., such that the balance of power is more equalitarian), or both? If she is an active participant in a close-knit extended family social network, or in various voluntary organizations, will this affect role relationships in the nuclear family in the same manner as her participation in the labor force? Focussing attention on the female child, one question which arises is that of how her attitudes and personality will be affected by the type of relationship her mother has to the external system.

With these distinctions in mind, the present study was undertaken in an attempt to integrate contemporary studies focussing on different aspects of the roles available to the modern female. It was felt that only through such an integration could various existing role relationships be comprehended as a whole, thus laying



the groundwork for more sophisticated empirical research in the future.

### C. Procedure

As a first step towards such an integration, a systematic abstract was prepared from those empirical studies focussing on the female sex role which were reported in: (1) F. Ivan Nye and Lois Wladis Hoffman (Eds.), The Employed Mother in America, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963, and (2) the following periodicals:

American Journal of Sociology

American Sociological Review

Journal of Conflict Resolution

Journal of Marriage and the Family (Marriage and Family Living)

Pacific Sociological Review

Social Forces

Sociological Quarterly

Sociology and Social Research

Sociometry.

The time period selected for the studies surveyed was that from 1960 to the present. The year 1960 was selected since it was not until the mid 1950's that it was recognized that the phenomena of the working wife and mother represented a permanent social change rather than a war-time exigency, and serious study of this change in the female sex role was undertaken. It was therefore felt that beginning with research published in 1960, building as it has on the earlier work of the 1950's, would allow adequate coverage of the types of research



questions which have been investigated, while at the same time providing enough depth to enable a grasp of the methodological and theoretical developmental nature of the research.

Initially a list of relevant studies was compiled from the abstracts, a list which was subsequently expanded from footnoted references as the propositional inventory was developed. In this manner, it was believed that all the major studies relevant to the topic, published in the sources cited during the specified time period, were assured of inclusion.

Within each subsection, studies were arranged according to two criteria. The first criterion employed was that of a time dimension, arranging the studies according to the chronological order in which they were published. Secondly, those studies which specifically dealt with one narrower research question were grouped together. To facilitate continuity, studies published earlier than the arbitrary cut-off date of 1960 were included where they had provided the impetus for a subsequent sequence of studies. Where the procedure of grouping related studies interfered with the overall chronological sequence within a subsection, those studies dealing with respondents at an earlier stage of the life-cycle were presented first.

In addition, in the final codification and summing up, reference has been made to other sources familiar to the writer where it was felt that this material would provide a valuable addition to the discussion.





In terms of overall organization, Chapters II and III form a conceptually distinct unit covering the topic of sex-role identification and learning: Chapter II presents an abstract of the empirical research on this topic; Chapter III the empirical generalizations generated from the studies abstracted in Chapter II. Similarly, Chapters IV and V form a second conceptually distinct unit covering the topic of adult female sex roles: Chapter IV presents an abstract of the empirical research on this topic; Chapter V the empirical generalizations generated from the studies abstracted in Chapter IV.



# FOOTNOTES

1. Thus in the late 19th century, LeBon was able to write in what was at that time a scientific treatise on the crowd that "...among the special characteristics of crowds there are several--such as impulsiveness, irritability, incapacity to reason, the absence of judgment and of the critical spirit, the exaggeration of the sentiments, and others besides--which are almost always observed in beings belonging to inferior forms of evolution--in women, savages, and children, for instance." LeBon, Gustave, The Crowd, London: The Pitman Press, 1896, 1952, pp. 35-36.
2. Nye, F. Ivan, and Hoffman, Lois Wladis, "The socio-cultural setting," in Nye, F. Ivan, and Hoffman, Lois Wladis (Eds.), The Employed Mother in America, Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1963, pp. 3-17.
3. Hofstadter, Richard, Social Darwinism in American Thought, Revised Edition, New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1965; Persons, Stow (Ed.), Social Darwinism: Selected Essays of William Graham Sumner, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
4. See for example Mead, Margaret, Male and Female, New York: Mentor Books, 1955.
5. Thus the development of the female was regarded as having been impeded by her lack of opportunity, akin to a minority group status. See for example Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, Volume 2, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1944, esp. p. 1073 where he writes, "In every society there are at least two groups of people, besides the Negroes, who are characterized by high social visibility expressed in physical appearance, dress, and patterns of behavior, and who have been 'suppressed'. We refer to women and children."
6. See for example Bernard, Jessie, Academic Women, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1966, especially pp. 1-35 in which she discusses the female pioneers in the world of academia.
7. For example, most widely used tests of general intelligence have been standardized to minimize or eliminate sex differences. See for example Maccoby, Eleanor E., "Sex differences in intellectual functioning," in Maccoby, Eleanor E. (Ed.), The Development of Sex Differences, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966, pp. 25-55.
8. See for example Bernard, Jessie, Social Problems at Midcentury: Role, Status, and Stress in a Context of Abundance, N.Y.: The Dryden Press, 1957, especially Chapter 15, "Status and role problems of modern women: family and worker roles," pp. 340-361.



9. Referred to as the "maternal deprivation school", this point of view was represented by such authors as Bowlby, John, Child Care and the Growth of Love, London: Pelican Books, 1953, p. 12; Bowlby, John, Maternal Care and Mental Health, Geneva: World Health Organization, 1952; Spitz, Rene A., "An inquiry into the genesis of psychiatric conditions in early childhood," in Eissler, Ruth S. et al (Eds.), The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, New York: International Universities Press, 1945, I, pp. 53-74; Spitz, Rene A. and Wolf, Donald, "Anaclitic depression: an inquiry into the genesis of psychiatric conditions in early childhood," in ibid., 1946, II, pp. 313-41; Goldfarb, William, "Emotional and intellectual consequences of psychological deprivation in infancy," in Paul H. Hock and Joseph Zubin, Psychopathology of Childhood, New York: Grune and Stratton, 1955, pp. 105-19.
10. Maccoby, op. cit.
11. Heilbrun, Alfred B., Jr., "Parental identification and college adjustment," Psychological Reports, 10 (May, 1962), pp. 853-854; Heilbrun, Alfred B., Jr., "Sex-role identity and achievement motivation," Psychological Reports, 12 (April, 1963), pp. 483-490. In the second paper cited, a number of studies are listed which provide support for the generalization that the trend is clear for males but equivocal for females.
12. The procedure for measuring the strength of the Achievement Motive as devised by David McClelland and his co-workers is presented in the following major sources: McClelland, D. C., Atkinson, J. W., Clark, R. A., and Lowell, E. L., The Achievement Motive, New York: Appleton-Century, 1953; McClelland, D. C. (Ed.), Studies in Motivation, New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1955; McClelland, D. C., The Achieving Society, Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961; Atkinson, J. W. (Ed.), Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society, Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958. A good summary and bibliography of the research in this area is presented in Brown, Roger, Social Psychology, New York: The Free Press, 1965, see Chapter 9, "The Achievement Motive," pp. 423-476.
13. French, Elizabeth G., and Lesser, Gerald S., "Some characteristics of the achievement motive in women," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 68 (1964), pp. 119-128; Turner, Ralph H., "Some aspects of women's ambition," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (November, 1964), pp. 271-285. Both authors include summaries of previous studies in these areas which provide support for the generalization that the trend is clear for males but equivocal for females.





14. See for example Fava, Sylvia, "The status of women in professional sociology," American Sociological Review, 25 (April, 1960), pp. 271-276.
15. For two almost encyclopedic works documenting these differences see Scheinfeld, Amram, Women and Men, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943, and Maccoby, op. cit. Scheinfeld places strongest emphasis on, and gives a detailed summary of, the fundamental or biological differences between males and females. Maccoby's volume, containing contributions from researchers focussing on five different aspects of sex differences, is both wider in scope and more superficial in nature. See also Carlson, Earl R., and Carlson, Rae, "Male and female subjects in personality research," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 61 (February, 1960), pp. 482-483. They report that 22/32 studies in the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology from 1958-60 showed significant differences in response for males and females. They warn against the danger of using only males in experiments or of failing to separate the responses of males and females.
16. It is increasingly being recognized that "any given social phenomenon is a function not of any single sovereign determinant, but of many interacting determinants reflecting the influence of psychological, sociological, historical, and other kinds of factors." Proshansky, Harold, and Seidenberg, Bernard, "Introduction: Problems of Theory and Method," in Proshansky and Seidenberg (Eds.), Basic Studies in Social Psychology, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965, p. 5. They further point out that "the principle of multi-causality refers to the interaction of determinants not only at different levels of human organization but within the same level of organization." This position has also been taken by: Allport, G. W., "The historical background of modern social psychology," in Lindzey, G. (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 2, Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1954; Selltitz, C., Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., and Cook, S. W., Research Methods in Social Relations, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959; Sherif, M., and Sherif, C. W., An Outline of Social Psychology, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1956.
17. While women were legally, socially, and ideologically assigned an inferior status in Western society, their goal of equal rights was visualized in terms of an absolute equality with males, the occupants of the superior status position. As women have, in fact, achieved more nearly equal legal and social status, this has permitted reformulation of the goal in terms of an equal but different ideology. The reformulated ideology allows recognition of the fact that such changes have not resulted in females as a group attaining the same absolute status or career achievements as have males.



18. Parsons, Talcott and Bales, Robert F., Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955, p. 46.
19. Homans, George C., The Human Group, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950.



## CHAPTER II

### SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION AND LEARNING

#### A. Abstract of Empirical Research

##### 1. Aggression and Dependence

Siegel, Alberta Engvall, Stolz, Lois Meek, Hitchcock, Ethel Alice, and Adamson, Jean, "Dependence and independence in children," in Nye, F. Ivan, and Hoffman, Lois Wladis (Eds.), The Employed Mother in America, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963, pp. 67-81, adapted from "Dependence and independence in the children of working mothers," Child Development, 30 (December, 1959), pp. 533-546.

##### a) Sample

- (1) Where: 2 large suburban communities.
- (2) Who: 26 matched pairs of kindergarten children of working and nonworking mothers, 10 pairs of girls and 16 pairs of boys.
- (3) How: Observational technique.

##### b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Working mother - currently employed at least 32 hours a week and had been for at least the past 6 months.
- (2) Non-working mother - had never worked during lifetime of child.
- (3) Dependence-independence - recorded as behavior units in 9 less general categories.

##### c) Assumptions

- (1) A child's development with respect to dependency is intimately associated with his relations with his parents and especially with his mother.
- (2) If maternal employment is a significant factor in the constellation of psychological and social factors which provide a background for the mother-child relation and thus for personality development in the young child, its implications will be greatest for the child's development with respect to dependence and independence.
- (3) Development in this respect relates to the consistency of the care the child receives, the frequency of his contacts with the caretaker, the number of different people who assume caretaking responsibility for him, the diversity of their child-rearing techniques, and the diversity of their attitudes toward the child. All of these conditions may be quite different for the child of a working mother than for the child of a full-time homemaker.





- d) Hypothesis  
Working mothers' and nonworking mothers' children are from the same population with respect to dependence and independence.
- e) Findings
  - (1) Null hypothesis was not rejected by t tests on mean difference scores.
  - (2) Post hoc analysis suggested there may be an interaction between sex of child and employment status of mother.

Hoffman, Lois Wladis, "Mother's enjoyment of work and effects on the child," in ibid., pp. 95-105.

- a) Sample
  - (1) Where: Detroit
  - (2) Who: 176 white intact families with at least one child in 3rd through 6th grade; 88 working-mother and 88 nonworking-mother families matched on occupation of father, sex of child, and ordinal position, including being an only child.
  - (3) How: Interviews with mothers and teacher ratings.
- b) Operational Definitions
  - (1) Maternal employment - not defined; presumably based on status at time of study.
  - (2) Assertive and dependency behavior - mothers' and teachers' ratings.
- c) Assumptions  
None stated.
- d) Hypotheses  
General: Children of working mothers who like their work or dislike their work will show patterns that will be different than when the mother is not employed and different from each other. The "guilt-overprotection" theory will operate for working women who enjoy work, and the "neglect" theory for those who do not.  
Test Hypotheses:
  - (1) Children of working mothers who have positive attitudes toward employment will be nonhostile, nonassertive, and possibly withdrawn and passive. They will:
    - (a) be less assertive toward mother
    - (b) play with younger children rather than their own age or older
    - (c) initiate less friendships
    - (d) make less influence attempts to peers
    - (e) have less influence success with peers
    - (f) be more dependent on their teacher
    - (g) be less aggressive
    - (h) use less physical force
    - (i) exhibit greater impulse control
 than will their counterparts with nonworking mothers.





- (2) Children of working women who do not like work will be assertive and hostile. They will:
- (a) be more assertive toward mother
  - (b) play with children of their own age or older rather than with younger children
  - (c) initiate more friendships
  - (d) make more influence attempts to peers
  - (e) have more influence success with peers
  - (f) be less dependent on their teacher
  - (g) be more aggressive
  - (h) use more physical force
  - (i) exhibit lesser impulse control
- than will their counterparts with nonworking mothers.
- e) Findings
- (1) Hypotheses 1 (b, c, and e) and 2 (a, h, and i) were supported at the .05 level by a 1-tailed t test.
  - (2) Hypotheses 1 (d and h) and 2 (d and g) were in the predicted direction, but not significant.

Lutzker, Daniel R., "Sex role, cooperation and competition in a two-person, non-zero sum game," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 5 (December, 1961), pp. 366-368.

- a) Sample
- (1) Where: Ohio State University.
  - (2) Who: Introductory psychology students divided into an experimental group (20 pairs of Ss consisting of one male and one female); and a control group (20 pairs of male Ss).
  - (3) How: 30 trials in laboratory setting.
- b) Operational Definitions
- Competition and cooperation - defined in terms of pay-off matrix involving small sums of money (maximum gain 7¢/trial).
- c) Assumptions
- None stated.
- d) Hypothesis
- Sex role will influence competitive and cooperative choices.
- e) Findings
- Hypothesis not supported by Mann-Whitney U-test.

Uesugi, Thomas K. and Vinacke, W. Edgar, "Strategy in a feminine game," Sociometry, 26 (March, 1963), pp. 75-88.

- a) Sample
- (1) Where: University of Hawaii.
  - (2) Who: 270 introductory psychology students; 135 of each sex.
  - (3) How: Quiz game played by 15 triads of each sex; board game played by 30 triads of each sex.



b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Masculine game - a competitive board game.
- (2) Feminine game - a quiz game with items relevant to feminine interests (people, fashions, family life).
- (3) Masculine strategy - index of exploitative strategy.
- (4) Feminine strategy - index of accommodative strategy.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) To the extent that characteristics of the game determine strategy, for both sexes, exploitative strategy will be dominant in a masculine game and accommodative strategy will be dominant in a feminine game.
- (2) To the extent that the major determinants of strategy lie in personality variables, males will manifest an exploitative style of play regardless of the game situation, and females will show an increase in accommodative strategy in a feminine game.

e) Findings

Using the Chi-square test for significance:

- (1) Female triads in both games scored significantly higher on the index of feminine strategy than male triads (.01 on the feminine game, .05 on the masculine game). On specific indices:
  - (a) In both games females agreed more often to form triple alliances (in contrast to the typical strategy of initiating pair alliances), although this difference was not significant. In the feminine game, groups of both sexes more often formed triple alliances (.01 for both sexes).
  - (b) Female triads more often arrived at an equal division of the prize in the feminine than in the masculine game (.01); difference for males was not significant.
  - (c) The feminine game evoked more bargaining than the masculine game (.001 for males, not significant for females).
  - (d) There were no significant differences between the two games on failure to form coalitions, formation of coalitions in the all-powerful pattern, or number of altruistic offers initiated.
- (2) Male triads had similar scores in the two games; females scored significantly higher in the feminine than in the masculine game (.02).



## 2. Learning Parental and Sex-Role Identification

Vener, Arthur M., and Snyder, Clinton A., "The preschool child's awareness and anticipation of adult sex-roles," Sociometry, 29 (June, 1966), pp. 159-168.

### a) Sample

- (1) Where: East Lansing, Michigan.
- (2) Who: 120 upper-middle or lower-upper class children: 20 boys and 20 girls in each of 3 age groups: 30-40, 41-50, and 51-60 months.
- (3) How: Apparently a purposive sample; semi-projective technique involving sex-linked cultural artifacts.

### b) Operational Definitions

Awareness of and preference for adult sex-roles - measured by child's awareness of and preference for artifacts linked with adult sex-roles; pretested and validated by near-peer judges.

### c) Assumption

Adult, role-linked, cultural items such as clothing, furnishings, and task objects are functional in the child's learning of adult male and female roles.

### d) Hypotheses

None stated.

### e) Findings

Using the Chi-square test for significance:

- (1) There was no significant difference between boys and girls with respect to their incidence of error when neither age nor type of artifact was controlled.
- (2) Respondents were more accurate in their perception of the cultural objects associated with the female role (.05).
- (3) Girls at all ages were more clear-cut in their same-sex preferences than boys. The youngest girls (30-40 months) preferred their own sex-linked items at about a 3:2 ratio and the oldest girls (51-60 months) had increased this to a 3:1 ratio. On the other hand, the youngest boys showed a slight initial preference for feminine items (54%), but the choices of the oldest boys were reversed to a 2:1 ratio in favor of masculine items.

Broderick, Carlfred B., and Fowler, Stanley E., "New patterns of relationships between the sexes among preadolescents," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (February, 1961), pp. 27-30.

### a) Sample

- (1) Where: middle class district in a southern urban community.
- (2) Who: 264 fifth, sixth, and seventh grade children, predominantly from upper lower to upper middle class homes.





- (3) How: Presumably a purposive sample; method of data collection not specified (presumably interview or questionnaire). Comparisons made with published data from the period 1930-1939.

b) Operational Definitions

Cross-sex interaction patterns - sociometric techniques of friendship choices; self reports of sweetheart choice, dating and kissing experience; semi-projective technique to elicit preference for opposite sex companion in 3 hypothetical situations.

c) Assumption

Although the old pattern of cross-sex avoidance among pre-adolescent children may still be a potent factor in many groups, new patterns and norms are emerging which promise to revolutionize boy-girl relationships at these ages.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) Allowing each child to make up to 4 friendship choices, 19.7% were cross-sex choices for 5th graders, 16.0% for 6th, and 14.7% for 7th. Of the total number of children in the sample, 51.9% of the 5th graders made one or more cross-sex choices, 41.8% of the 6th, and 37.7% of the 7th. This contrasts with studies published in the 1920's and 1930's which univocally reported cross-sex friendship choices dropped to near zero in about the 3rd and 4th grade and remained there through the 8th.
- (2) The picture of generally disinterested preadolescent boys and covertly interested preadolescent girls found in earlier studies, contrasted sharply with the present study in which it was found that 86.8% of the boys in the 5th grade reported they had a sweetheart, 86.4% in the 6th, and 74.4% in the 7th; corresponding percentages for girls were 94.5, 97.1 and 86.8%. Of those reporting a sweetheart, the majority also reported that friends and parents knew.
- (3) The data illustrated the trend toward an increasing incidence of dating at an early age. At all 3 grade levels the percentages of boys were higher than girls who reported having dated, kissed opposite sex, and been kissed by opposite sex.
- (4) In 3 hypothetical situations, data was comparable for boys and girls with reference to preferring an opposite sex companion to eat with, rising from about 1/3 in the 5th grade to slightly less than 1/2 by the 7th grade; and to go for a walk with, rising from about 1/2 in 5th grade to approximately 2/3 by the 7th. Differences were more marked with respect to going to a movie, for boys rising from 58.5% in the 5th grade to 74.3% in the 7th; and for girls from 45.5% to 65.7%. Again, except for two slight reversals, the percentage of boys preferring a cross-sex companion was higher than of girls.



Vincent, Clark E., "Implications of changes in male-female role expectations for interpreting M-F scores," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (May, 1966), pp. 196-199.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: suburban high school.
- (2) Who: 100 male and 120 female high school seniors: 50 "high" matched with 50 "low" Fe females and 60 "high" matched with 60 "low" Fe males. All Ss were 16-18 years of age, white, and had both parents alive and living together.
- (3) How: High and low groups selected from a population of 260 males and 257 females who completed the Gough's California Psychological Inventory and a questionnaire. Group-frequency matching was achieved for mother's education, father's education, father's occupation, and the subject's estimate of his or her state of health. Differences on Fe were significant at the .05 level for females, .01 for males.

b) Operational Definitions

Masculinity-femininity - CPI femininity scale.

c) Assumptions

The items in many M-F tests and scales were selected initially because they discriminated significantly between the responses of the sexes at the time the tests were constructed. To the degree that these items reflect the concept of a traditional, male-dominant family and society; to the degree that male-female role expectations are becoming more equalitarian; and to the degree that role expectations affect socialization, M-F items need to be revised and M-F scores reinterpreted.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) An item analysis of the 38 items comprising the Fe scale revealed that approximately one-half of the items differentiated significantly (.01) between groups of females, groups of males, as well as between males and females.
- (2) On approximately 2/3 of the remaining 17 CPI scales, the "low" Fe females had higher scores than the "high" Fe females, and the "high" Fe males had higher scores than the "low" Fe males. In general, high scores indicate the more favorable CPI profile than do low scores. Although not significant, the direction of some of the differences was surprising:
  - (a) Low Fe females scored higher than high Fe females on all 6 of the Class I scales intended to measure "poise, ascendancy and self-assurance".
  - (b) High Fe males scored higher than low Fe males on such scales as "dominance", "capacity for status", and "responsibility".



Couch, Carl J., "Family role specialization and self-attitudes in children," Sociological Quarterly, 3 (April, 1962), pp. 115-121.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: not stated.
- (2) Who: 60 college students (22 males and 38 females), the majority freshmen enrolled in introductory sociology classes, ranging in age from 17 to 23.
- (3) How: To standardize family background, out of 200 students completing the Twenty Statements Test, those were eliminated who were married, reported step-children in the family, reported living with only one parent or with neither parent, and who did not have a sibling of the opposite sex within 5 years of their age.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Self-identification - Twenty Statements Test (TST).
- (2) Family role structure - questionnaire used to assign father-mother and male-female teenager role-specialization scores.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Humans perceive and define themselves as they believe others perceive and define them.
- (2) The family is a pervasive group in our society, and the development and maintenance of the self for most individuals depends in large part upon the interaction that occurs within the family group.
- (3) As families differ in structure this difference should be reflected in the ways children define themselves.
- (4) Families with a high degree of role specialization will be more likely to define their members in terms of sex statuses than will families marked by a low degree of role specialization.

d) Hypothesis

The greater the reported role specialization is between sexes within a family, the more frequently will the children use their sex status as a means of self-identification in responding to the TST.

e) Findings

Statistical test employed was not stated in reporting the following:

- (1) Data failed to support the hypothesis when both sexes considered together.
- (2) The general pattern which emerged was that of an inverse association between reported degree of role specialization and self identification by sex for females--a relationship opposite to that hypothesized; and a positive association for males.





### 3. Effects of Maternal Employment on Sex-Role Learning and Development

Perry, Joseph B., Jr., "Mother substitutes," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 182-189, adapted from "The mother substitutes of employed mothers: an exploratory inquiry," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 362-367.

#### a) Sample

- (1) Where: Spokane.
- (2) Who: 104 Caucasian employed mothers with children aged 3-5, and 82 of their mother substitutes.
- (3) How: area probability sample, 4 callbacks; interviews.

#### b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Desirable mother substitutes - open-ended question asked of employed mothers.
- (2) Adequacy of mother substitutes - assessed in terms of hiring procedure, training and experience, attitudes, reasons for changes.
- (3) Employed mother - reported full-time employment at time of study.

#### c) Assumption

In families in which the mothers are employed away from the home, the "mother substitute" is important in the socialization of the children.

#### d) Hypotheses

None stated.

#### e) Findings

- (1) In order of importance desirable characteristics of mother substitutes were deemed to be that they like children, be able to control them, have good character, have high moral standards, understand children, be able to care for child's bodily needs, be mature, be intelligent, maintain a helpful relationship with child, and have experience with children.
- (2) Hiring procedures were generally informal, by word-of-mouth.
- (3) Largely lacked formal experience with children and did not have extensive experience in their jobs. Almost all had some experience with children.
- (4) 12% were cared for by their fathers; 28% by some other relative.
- (5) Slightly less than half of the mother substitutes had no preference for other work; 1/3 preferred other work, including 6 persons indicating a dislike of children.
- (6) Employed mothers tended to report more items of the child's behavior as annoying than did the mother substitutes; also more items as enjoyable.
- (7) Arrangements tended to be relatively stable over time: 71% of the children had been in the care of only one mother substitute; 29% in the care of 3 or more (and of these 2 had





been in the care of over 5).

- (8) Of 115 changes in mother substitutes, 15 were for negative reasons.

a. Sex of Children Not Differentiated

Powell, Kathryn S., "Personalities of children and child-rearing attitudes of mothers," in ibid., pp. 125-132.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Tallahassee, Florida.
- (2) Who: 27 mothers and their adolescent children who had been enrolled in nursery schools of the Florida State University. Mothers were white, American-born, urban, middle-class, and of intact families.
- (3) How: Projective tests administered at ages 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 12.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Motives of achievement, affiliation and power - Children's Apperception Test at ages 5 through 11; Thematic Apperception Test at age 12.
- (2) Maternal employment status - employment histories of mothers at time of data collection.

c) Assumption

Maternal employment is frequently viewed as depriving children of maternal affection, a situation which may result in emotional apathy of the children, characterized by lack of concern for others, or an excessive, neurotic dependence on others.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) If gainful employment of mothers reflects their concern for the families' "getting ahead", this attitude would be reflected among their children, and these children would develop stronger achievement and power motives than those of full-time homemakers.
- (2) A negative relationship will exist between the gainful employment of mothers and the development in children of affiliation motives which reflect their need to establish, maintain, or restore positive affective relationships with others.

e) Findings

Using the Mann-Whitney U test of significance:

- (1) Children of employed mothers showed stronger achievement motives than those of non-employed mothers. The relationship at age 9 was reported as significant; but the level of significance was not stated.
- (2) There were no significant relationships between maternal employment and the motives of affiliation or power.



Nye, F. Ivan, Perry, Joseph B., Jr., and Ogles, Richard H., "Anxiety and anti-social behavior in preschool children," in ibid., pp. 82-94.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Spokane, Washington.
- (2) Who: 104 mothers employed full-time, 104 mothers not employed, 82 mother substitutes; all Caucasian. Groups of mothers matched on occupation of husband, education of husband, income of husband; age, education, and religious preference of wife.
- (3) How: Area probability sample; interviews with 4 call-backs.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment status - respondents dichotomized into employed vs. not employed at time of interview.
- (2) Anti-social behavior, withdrawing behavior, nervous symptoms, compensating behavior - all measured by Guttman scaling techniques.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Of all the duties usually expected of the mother, the care of her preschool children is considered the most crucial. Society's concern about this role appears to stem from the belief that the mother's presence is necessary to the satisfaction of the child's physical needs, safety, and emotional needs. It is assumed that only the biological mother or a permanent mother substitute who is continuously caring for her child can adequately provide for the physical and emotional needs of the child.
- (2) It is important to specify situational variables which may be significant in determining whether or not "maternal deprivation" (or the effect thereof) is exhibited in a particular situation.

d) Hypothesis

Not stated but implicit in null form since 2-tailed tests of significance were employed: Working mothers' and nonworking mothers' children are from the same population with respect to nervous, withdrawing and anti-social behavior.

e) Findings

No significant differences between the two groups of children were found on the measures employed.

Nye, F. Ivan, "The adjustment of adolescent children," in ibid., pp. 133-141, adapted from "Maternal employment and the adjustment of adolescent children," Marriage and Family Living, 21 (August, 1959), pp. 240-244.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: 3 small cities in Washington.
- (2) Who: 2350 students of both sexes in grades 9-12.



- (3) How: 75% systematic sample initiated randomly; anonymous questionnaires administered in classroom; 1% invalid.
- b) Operational Definitions
- (1) Mother's attitude toward child - child's perception assessed by a Guttman-type child-rejection scale.
  - (2) Maternal employment - dichotomized into employed vs. not employed, by combining part-time and full-time employed.
  - (3) Educational achievement - grade point average.
  - (4) Neurotic symptoms - psychosomatic symptom Guttman scale.
  - (5) Delinquent behavior - Guttman-type delinquency scale.
  - (6) Broken home - child living with remarried parent or mother.
- c) Assumptions
- None stated.
- d) Hypotheses
- None stated, but implicit in discussion were:
- (1) Working mothers are less interested in their children than are nonworking mothers.
  - (2) Children of employed mothers will receive lower grades in high school than those whose mothers were not employed and therefore had more time to help them.
  - (3) Children of employed mothers will have a higher rate of anxiety taking the form of neurotic symptoms than will children of unemployed mothers.
  - (4) Children of employed mothers will demonstrate less affection toward parents than will children of unemployed mothers.
  - (5) Children of employed mothers will exhibit more delinquent behavior than will children of unemployed mothers.
- e) Findings
- Although statistical test employed was not stated, results were reported as follows:
- (1) Hypotheses 1 through 4 were not supported.
  - (2) Eleven out of 13 tests found significant differences, with all (including those non-significant) showing more delinquent behavior among children of employed mothers when analysis was limited to intact homes. The 13 tests comprised 3 SES categories, 3 by family size, 3 by education of mother, 2 by rural-urban residence, and 2 by sex of adolescent.
  - (3) No significant differences were found between the two groups from broken homes.

Nolan, Francena L., "Effects on rural children," in ibid., pp. 122-124.

- a) Sample
- (1) Where: a farm trade center.
  - (2) Who: Husband and wife in 59 families with employed homemakers; wife in 69 farm families and 168 non-farm families with full-time homemakers. All families were intact and contained at least one child of 18 or under. Samples were







not matched; thus employed homemakers tended to be older, better educated, have older children and fewer of them, and be more likely to have husbands in white-collar or service occupations.

(3) How: Interview with parents; teachers' rating of children.

b) Operational Definitions

(1) Employed homemaker - women who worked 30 hours or more per week at time of interview, i.e., part-time excluded.

(2) School performance - teacher's ratings on a 4-point scale in the areas of academic achievement, relation between ability and achievement, acceptance of teachers' supervision, and evidence of home training.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

Test of significance not given, but results reported as:

(1) For children 6-11 differences were not significant; children whose mothers were employed scored higher on 4 out of the 5 comparisons (the exception was evidence of home training).

(2) For children 12 and over, children whose mothers were employed scored higher on all comparisons than did children whose mothers were not employed, and 2 were significant (academic achievement and acceptance by peers).

Hoffman, Lois Wladis, "Mother's enjoyment of work and effects on the child," in ibid., pp. 95-105, reprinted from Child Development, 32 (March, 1961), pp. 187-197.

a) Sample

(1) Where: Detroit.

(2) Who: 176 white, intact families with at least one child in the 3rd through 5th grades. This comprised 88 working-mother families matched with 88 nonworking-mother families on occupation of father, sex of child, and ordinal position including the status of being an only child. Of the working mothers, 65 liked work; 23 disliked work.

(3) How: Questionnaires filled out by children, interviews with mothers, teacher ratings, and a classroom sociometric.

b) Operational Definitions

(1) Mother's attitude toward work - single question item.

(2) Mother's affect and behavior toward child - child's perception of mother as a source of positive affect, and of coerciveness; mother's report.

(3) Child's task participation - Herbst's "Doing Things" questionnaire.

(4) Child's disturbedness - teacher ratings and classroom sociometric.



- (5) Child's intellectual ability - Primary Learning Aptitude Test and Detroit Alpha Intelligence Test.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Many explanations have been advanced to account for the relationship between maternal employment and child development:
  - (a) Delinquent and hostile-assertive behavior might result from parental neglect and lack of sufficient discipline due to the mother's absence from the home; from hostility on the part of the child at being deserted; or from father discipline replacing mother discipline insofar as father discipline leads to the expression of hostility outward whereas mother discipline leads to intra-punitiveness.
  - (b) Withdrawal and dependency might occur as the result of the mother's spending a great deal of time outside the home working; or, the working mother might feel guilty about working outside the home and respond with a pattern of "smother love" or overprotection, to alleviate her guilt.
  - (c) If working mothers have greater power needs than non-working mothers, this pattern would be appropriate for expressing power over the child in a way that appears to be benign and admirable.
  - (d) Some working mothers may be less frustrated and more capable of warm interaction.
  - (e) The energy output required by trying to fill two jobs may make some mothers more irritable with their children.
- (2) Each explanation assumes something about the working situation that is sometimes, but not always, correct; and, when certain assumptions hold, different mother-child interactions will result and the child will be affected accordingly. One important factor implicit in several of these explanations involves the question of whether or not the mother enjoys her employment.

d) Hypotheses

General: Children of working mothers who like their work or dislike their work will show patterns that will be different than when the mother was not employed and different from each other. The "guilt-overprotection theory" will operate for working women who enjoy work, and the "neglect theory" for working women who do not enjoy work.

Test Hypotheses:

- (1) The working mother who likes her work will feel guilty about working outside the home and respond with a pattern of "smother love" or overprotection. She will:
  - (a) show the child more affection
  - (b) feel more sympathy toward the child
  - (c) require less help with the household tasks (i.e., be more careful that the child should not be inconvenienced)



- by the fact that she works),  
than will nonworking mothers.
- (2) The working mother who dislikes her work will feel no guilt about working outside the home. She will show more of a withdrawal from the maternal role. She will:
    - (a) show the child less affection
    - (b) feel less sympathy toward the child
    - (c) require more help with the household tasks (i.e., feel freer to inconvenience the child)
 than will the nonworking mother.
  - (3) Both the working mother who dislikes her work and the working mother who likes her work will:
    - (a) be less coercive
    - (b) use milder discipline
    - (c) use less power-assertive influence techniques
    - (d) express less hostility toward the child
 than will nonworking mothers.
  - (4) The children of working mothers will be more disturbed in general than the children of nonworking mothers. They will:
    - (a) show more nonadaptive responses to frustration
    - (b) be lower in intellectual performance
    - (c) be less well liked by their peers
 than will their counterparts with nonworking mothers.
  - (5) If working mothers who like work are guilty about their employment and consequently overprotect their children, then the intellectual ability of their children may be impaired. Mothers who solve their children's problems for them may hamper their intellectual development by depriving them of valuable problem-solving experience. Low performance of children of mothers who dislike work might be characteristic of a rebellious pattern. Thus:
    - (a) Children of mothers who like work will be lower on intellectual ability than will their counterparts with nonworking mothers.
    - (b) Children of mothers who dislike work and their counterparts with nonworking mothers will be members of the same population with regard to intellectual ability.
- e) Findings
- (1) While none of the directional findings ran counter to the hypotheses, only the following were significant at the .05 level with a 1-tailed t test:
    - Hypotheses 1a and 1b
    - Hypothesis 2c
    - Hypotheses 3a and 3c for mothers with negative attitudes
    - Hypotheses 3b and 3d for mothers with positive attitudes
    - Hypothesis 4a for children of mothers with negative attitudes
    - Hypothesis 4b for both groups
    - Hypothesis 5a
  - (2) Hypothesis 5b was not rejected.
  - (3) The data were considered compatible with the general hypothesis that the reason for these different patterns is the





presence or absence of guilt in the mother. It was pointed out that if one were to argue the direction of causality was reversed, it would not be consistent with the fact that both groups of working-mother children showed indications of maladjustment. It was only that they showed different syndromes of maladjustment.

- (4) There was a tendency for higher status jobs to be well liked, suggesting guilt and overprotection are more likely to be a middle-class response to maternal employment, while neglect is more a lower-class response (but N.B. the association between social class and attitude toward employment was not perfect).

#### b. Sex of Children Differentiated

Peterson, Evan T., "The impact of maternal employment on the mother-daughter relationship," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 355-361.

##### a) Sample

- (1) Where: Michigan.
- (2) Who: 501 girls from intact families in grades 10, 11 and 12 and their mothers.
- (3) How: Self-selected sample from a population of 986 girls; questionnaires filled in by both girls and mothers.

##### b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment - mothers dichotomized as to present status of employed or not employed.
- (2) Interest - 6-item Guttman scale.
- (3) Control - 6-item Guttman scale.
- (4) Socioeconomic status - on the basis of social class self-identification and objective criteria respondents assigned to 3 categories: (1) middle class - middle class identifiers, (2) middle or lower class - cross class identifiers, and (3) lower class - working class identifiers.
- (5) Financial need - women who named "money" as the thing they liked best about working.
- (6) Enjoyment of work - single question.

##### c) Assumptions

- (1) The concepts of interest and control are related. The mother who controls most of her daughter's activities is interested in her behavior within those areas. However, the reverse is not necessarily true. A mother who is very permissive may not exercise much control over her daughter's activities even though she has a high degree of interest in them.
- (2) Because of conflicting demands in the prescriptions of the role of employed woman and the role of mother, the employed





mother's performance in one or both of her roles will be negatively affected.

- (3) This conflict of roles will affect the mother-daughter relationship because of the mother's importance in the socialization process.
- (4) The greater the mother's involvement in one of her contradictory roles, the greater the effect upon her performance in the alternate role.
- (5) If a mother has been employed throughout most of her daughter's life, is employed primarily for reasons of self-gratification, or enjoys her work, she is involved to a greater degree in her occupational role than other employed mothers. These characteristics are indices of involvement; these mothers should devalue the maternal role and this in turn should be reflected in the manner in which their daughters perceive the mother-daughter relationship.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Adolescent daughters of employed mothers tend to perceive their mothers as exhibiting less interest in them than adolescent daughters of nonemployed mothers.
- (2) Adolescent daughters of employed mothers tend to perceive their mothers as exercising fewer control efforts over them than adolescent daughters of nonemployed mothers.
- (3) Employed mothers with low interest and low control tend to be those mothers who have been employed throughout most of their daughters' lives.
- (4) Employed mothers with low interest and low control tend to be those mothers who are employed primarily for reasons of self-gratification rather than financial need.
- (5) Employed mothers with low interest and low control tend to be those mothers who enjoy their work.

e) Findings

Using Tau c as the measure of relationship:

- (1) Social class proved an important control variable. Lower class mothers tended to have less interest in (.001) and less control over (.02) their daughters than middle class mothers.
- (2) The first 4 hypotheses were not supported at statistically significant levels. The findings were in the hypothesized direction in the middle and mixed class for hypothesis 1; in all 3 classes for hypothesis 2; in 4 of the 6 class categories for hypothesis 3 and hypothesis 4.
- (3) The 5th hypothesis was partially confirmed. Out of the 6 class categories, 4 were in the predicted direction, and of these 4, 3 were significant (.03). The exceptions were the mixed class group of mothers.
- (4) With reference to the 3rd hypothesis, there was a comparatively strong and significant inverse relationship between degree of perceived control and length of time the mothers had been employed. Middle class mothers who had been employed



over 35% of their daughters' lives tended to be perceived as exercising less control than middle class mothers who had been employed 35% or less of their daughters' lives. Those mothers who had been employed over 35% of their daughters' lives tended to be in the extremes of the interest dichotomy, either showing a great deal of interest in their daughters or very little.

Burchinal, Lee G., "Personality characteristics of children," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 106-121, expansion by the author of an article of the same title by Lee G. Burchinal and Jack Rossman from Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 334-340.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
- (2) Who: 1249 intact Caucasian families (child living with both biological parents) having a child in the 7th or 11th grade.
- (3) How: questionnaires to students followed by mail questionnaires to families; 91% return rate.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment - the number of months the mothers worked during the first 3, second 3, first 6 years of the child's life; his entire lifetime; and the previous 30 months were all recorded separately.
- (2) Personality characteristics of children - multiple questions used to assess obsessional feelings, oversensitivity to others, excessive introspection, upper respiratory complaints, envy and withdrawal, head and eye complaints, illness proneness, fatigue, mood fluctuations, anxiety and fright; single questions to assess nervous symptoms, anger easily, ill in childhood, things go wrong, easily discouraged, feelings not real, depressed over low marks, daydream, love and hate family, parents disappointed in you, gastro-intestinal pains, schoolmates you like, schoolmates like you.
- (3) School adjustment - intelligence, achievement, grades, days tardy, days late.
- (4) Social adjustment - 10-item index based upon participation in age-appropriate community organizations.

c) Assumption

Separation of the child from the mother during the first several years is generally considered more damaging to the subsequent growth and development of the child than separation during later periods of life.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) There is no relationship between maternal employment and selected personality characteristics of children.





- (2) There is no relationship between maternal employment and measures of school adjustment and social relations of children.

e) Findings

- (1) In general, the 2 null hypotheses were not rejected. Of the hundreds of correlation coefficients reported, the majority (92%) were non-significant.
- (2) However, all significant results supported an association between maternal employment and greater personality disturbance in children.

Prodipto, Roy, "Adolescent roles: rural-urban differentials," in ibid., pp. 165-181, adapted from Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 340-349.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Stevens County and Ferry County, Washington.
- (2) Who: 303 pupils in grades 7-12 from intact families; 128 whose mothers were employed full-time, and a frequency matched subsample whose mothers were not employed.
- (3) How: Samples selected from a population of 1343 questionnaires.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Rural-urban residence - respondents classified as "urban" if they resided in an incorporated or unincorporated place with a population of about 200 or more; as "rural" otherwise.
- (2) Maternal employment - full-time employed vs. full-time homemaker; i.e., part-time employed excluded.
- (3) Household chores - score computed by summing ratings on 21 tasks.
- (4) Outside work for pay - last year, during summer, job now, and average number of hours worked per week.
- (5) Social activities - dating frequency; social participation index of organizational membership and activity.
- (6) Academic performance - self-reported grades; aspiration.
- (7) Delinquency - Guttman scale.
- (8) Affection in family - 8-item scale.
- (9) Fairness of discipline - 6-item scale.
- (10) Democracy in family - 4-item scale.
- (11) Cooperation in family - 5-item scale.

c) Assumptions

- (1) The nuclear family may be viewed as a social system with 4 structurally related social positions--husband-father, wife-mother, son-brother, and daughter-sister.
- (2) A social position in a social system consists of a number of role expectations for that position.
- (3) Role expectations of each family member change through time and vary with such factors as ethnic origin, occupation, education, and residence.





- (4) Into the traditional wife-mother position, consisting of the role expectations of mother of siblings, spouse of father, teacher, disciplinarian, playmate, housekeeper, is being squeezed a new role expectation, supplemental earner.
  - (5) Several rational and "common sense" fears are engendered in the minds of people whenever any institutionalized social positions are altered.
  - (6) The general consequences of the disruptive forces in the traditional social position of the mother who has "abandoned her hearth" will be dysfunctional in nature.
- d) Hypotheses
- General: The addition of the new role of "supplemental earner" to the wife-mother position affects the roles of the children. Owing to the difference between rural and urban subcultural patterns the employment of the mother should affect rural and urban families in different ways.
- Test Hypotheses:
- (1) The employment of the mother does not affect the amount of household work done by the adolescent daughter and son.  
Corollary: The employment of the mother does not affect the amount of outside work done for pay by the adolescent daughter and son.
  - (2) The employment of the mother does not reduce the social activities of the daughter or son.
  - (3) The employment of the mother does not lower the academic performance or aspirations of the daughter or son.
  - (4) The employment of the mother does not affect the amount of delinquency, the affection, the fairness of discipline, the democracy, or cooperation in a family.
- e) Findings
- (1) The first hypothesis was rejected; in general a higher proportion of the children of employed mothers performed household tasks than the children of non-employed mothers. However, using the Sign Test the difference was significant for rural boys (16/21 cases), town girls (17/21); with the more powerful extension, the Wilcoxon Signed-Ranks test, for town boys (14/20 cases); but not for rural girls.
  - (2) None of the other hypotheses were rejected.
  - (3) However, consistent differences did emerge for the corollary to hypothesis 1. The sons of employed mothers consistently did less work outside the home for pay on all 4 measures employed; the daughters showed the reverse, consistently doing more work outside the home for pay.



Douvan, Elizabeth, "Employment and the adolescent," in ibid., pp. 142-164.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: United States (national sample).
- (2) Who: 1162 school girls aged 11-18, 702 school boys aged 14-16, from intact families in which the father was employed.
- (3) How: multi-stage probability samples; interviews conducted at school following a fixed schedule, lasting 1-4 hours.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Socioeconomic status - 5 levels by father's occupation.
- (2) Maternal employment - trichotomized: part-time, full-time, none.
- (3) Adolescent activity - household responsibility, work, dating, group membership, leisure activities.
- (4) Adolescent development and family life - relationships with parents, share in rule-making, adult ideal, intimacy, friendship development index, index of traditional femininity, job aspirations, index of internalization, characteristics of future husband, nature of punishment, attitude toward authority; some projective measures.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Working-mother daughters are more active than nonworking-mother daughters but the patterns of activity differ for the three groups: daughters of mothers who work part-time, daughters of mothers who work full-time, and daughters of mothers who are full-time homemakers.
- (2) Maternal employment has a differential impact in the two major social classes, middle and working classes, on the grounds that the meaning will differ when the general economic position of the family is good or poor.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) There was no consistent relationship between either the social class of the family or the age of the child and the likelihood that the mother works outside the home.
- (2) On a comparative basis with no controls a general pattern of serious activity with an adult-like pattern was inferred for daughters of mothers working full-time; of high activity suggesting active parents who participate energetically in the child's life for daughters of mothers who worked part-time.
- (3) When social class was controlled for the two major social classes, a part-time work commitment was found to have a relatively stable meaning and implication in both.
- (4) When social class was controlled, a full-time work commitment was found to be related with differential patterns, interpreted as reflecting different motivational sources. In the middle class they resembled daughters of mothers who worked part-time: relatively active, autonomous girls who



admired their mothers but were not unusually closely tied to the family. In the working class they exhibited a serious and adult-like pattern of activities, paradoxically both exhibiting close emotional ties to their families while at the same time shifting a transfer of emotionality to friends and dates.

- (5) Maternal employment seemed to affect boys only in the working class when the mother was employed full-time (interpreted as: only when it provided information about general features of family integration, i.e., about the relationship between the boy and his father). These boys more often thought of financial problems as a source of worry, showed more dysfunctional tendencies, dated more actively, and had fewer organizational ties.

#### 4. Structural Aspects of the Family Related to Sex-Role Learning

Brim, Orville G., Jr., "Family structure and sex role learning by children: a further analysis of Helen Koch's data," Sociometry, 21 (March, 1958), pp. 1-16.

##### a) Sample

- (1) Where: Chicago.
- (2) Who: 384 children from unbroken, native-born, white, urban, two-child families; 5- and 6-year-olds free of gross physical or mental defects.
- (3) How: secondary analysis of Helen Koch's data, the results of analysis of variance for the relation between 58 personality trait ratings and the family structure from which the child came.

##### b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Structural characteristics of the family - design included 3 sibling spacing levels, 2 ordinal positions, subjects of 2 sexes and siblings of 2 sexes.
- (2) Personality traits - 58 traits included 24 of the Fels Child Behavior scales, and 34 items from the California Behavior Inventory for Nursery School Children.
- (3) Male (instrumental) or female (expressive) roles - 31 of the 58 traits assigned to these categories by 4 judges.

##### c) Assumptions

- (1) The structure of a social group, delineated by variables such as size, age, sex, power, and prestige differences, is a primary influence upon the patterns of interaction within the group, determining in major part the degree to which any two group members interact.
- (2) Social roles are learned through interaction with others, such interaction providing one with the opportunity to





practice his own role as well as to take the role of the other.

- (3) The process of role learning through interaction can be sketched as follows: One learns the behavior appropriate to his position in a group through interaction with others who hold normative beliefs about what his role should be and who are able to reward and punish him for correct and incorrect actions. As part of the same learning process, one acquires expectations of how others in the group will behave. The latter knowledge is indispensable to the actor, in that he must be able to predict what others expect of him, and how they will react to him, in order to guide his own role performance successfully. Accurate or erroneous understanding and prediction are respectively rewarding and punishing to the actor, and learning proceeds systematically through the elimination of incorrect responses and the strengthening of correct ones.
- (4) Learning the role of others occurs through the actor's taking the role of the other, i.e., trying to act as the other would act.
- (5) Whether taking the role of others is overt or covert, certain responses (belonging to the role of the other) are made, run through, completed, and rewarded if successful, i.e., accurate, and this process adds to the repertoire of possible actions of a person those actions taken by others in their own roles. Such actions, as part of one's repertoire or pool of learned responses, are available for performance by an actor, not now simply in taking the role of the other, but as resources which he can use as part of his own role performances.
- (6) The critical fact is that the actor not only can, but does, make use of responses learned in role-taking in his own role performances. This happens in two senses:
  - (a) the direct transfer of the role of the other to a new and parallel status of one's own, where there is a straightforward adoption of the other's role
  - (b) a more complex process of convergence between one's own role and that of the other which he takes, where there is a spill-over of elements belonging to another's role into one's own performance when it is not necessarily appropriate.
- (7) Siblings close in age interact more than those not close in age.
- (8) Given two persons with whom one interacts and who differ in power over the actor, i.e., differ in the degree to which they control rewards and punishments for the actor, the actor will adopt more of the characteristics of the powerful, as contrasted to the less powerful, other person. This follows from the fact that it is more important to the actor to predict the behavior of the powerful figure, that he is motivated more strongly to take his role, that the rewards





and punishments are more impressive and the learning consequently better. Interaction between two figures of unequal power should give a parallel result, namely, there would be a greater assimilation of the role of the other into the actor's role for the less powerful figure.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Cross-sex, as compared with same-sex, siblings will possess more traits appropriate to the cross-sex role. When taking the role of the other in interaction, cross-sex siblings must take the role of the opposite sex, and an assimilation of roles should take place.
- (2) This effect would be more noticeable for the younger, as compared with the older, sibling in that the latter is more powerful and is more able to differentiate his own from his sibling's role.
- (3) This effect would be more noticeable for the siblings who are closest together in age.

e) Findings

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported for both sexes, the tendency being most pronounced for the child whose opposite-sex sibling was older. For girls with brothers, the acquisition of male traits did not seem to affect the number of feminine traits, i.e., appeared to add to their behavioral repertoire. For the boy with the older sister his acquisition of feminine traits seemed to have displaced, rather than simply diluted, his masculinity.
- (2) The second hypothesis was supported, being more marked for boys than for girls.
- (3) The third hypothesis was not supported; the assumption that interaction varies with age difference was rejected.

Elder, Glen H., Jr., and Bowerman, Charles E., "Family structure and child-rearing patterns: the effect of family size and sex composition," American Sociological Review, 28 (December, 1963), pp. 891-905.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: central Ohio and central North Carolina.
- (2) Who: 1261 seventh-grade white Protestant students from unbroken homes, living mainly in urban areas.
- (3) How: 40% random sample; structured questionnaire.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Socioeconomic status - assigned to middle or lower class on basis of father's occupation.
- (2) Family size - grouped into 3 categories: 1-2, 3, 4 or more children.
- (3) Paternal involvement in child rearing - in establishing rules of conduct, deciding discipline policy, and administering discipline.



- (4) Parental control - decision-making between child and parents; stability of decision-making over time; explanation of rules.
- (5) Methods of behavior control (i.e., techniques of discipline) - frequency of physical punishment, negative verbal methods, and symbolic reward.

c) Assumptions

- (1) As the size of a group increases, members are less likely to maintain a distinct identity, the number of possible relationships increases sharply, leadership becomes more differentiated, isolates and coalitions form, and consensus in decision-making grows more difficult.
- (2) There are two relatively distinct syndromes of discipline techniques: external methods such as physical punishment and symbolic methods such as reasoning.
- (3) (a) Family size, paternal involvement in child rearing, and the use of external behavior control are correlates of social class. (b) Paternal involvement and the use of external control methods vary with the sex of the child. (c) Therefore, social class and sex are necessary controls.
- (4) External control is more likely to be utilized by lower-class parents than by middle-class parents. While middle-class parents prefer their children to be curious, responsible and autonomous, lower-class parents tend to favor qualities such as obedience and respectability. Thus the organizational requirements and frustrations of a large family should reinforce the external control orientation of lower-class parents.
- (5) Since boys tend to be more assertive, aggressive, active and argumentative than girls, physical discipline, shouting and nagging may be more prevalent in families with sons.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) The probability of paternal involvement in the control and discipline of children increases as family size increases.
- (2) Paternal involvement in child rearing is most frequent when all of the children in the family are boys. The hypothesized relationship should be strongest in large middle-class families.
- (3) Family size will be positively related to parental use of external behavior-control methods in child rearing. The relation between family size and external control should be strongest in lower-class families.
- (4) Boys who have brothers and no sisters, in contrast to boys with sisters, are more likely to experience external behavior-control methods. The hypothesized relationship should be strongest in middle-class families.
- (5) Girls who have brothers are more apt, than girls with sisters and no brothers, to experience external behavior-control methods. The hypothesized relationship should be strongest in lower-class families.

e) Findings

Using  $\text{dyx}$ , an asymmetric measure of association:





- (1) The first hypothesis was supported, results being weakest for lower-class boys. Shared parental decision making was the modal pattern regardless of family size with respect to leadership in establishing rules of conduct and making final decisions on discipline policy; however, not for administration of discipline. An exception was noted in that sons in large lower-class families were less likely to see father as chief disciplinarian.
- (2) Hypothesis 3 was supported in 17/24 comparisons. Relationship was strongest for lower-class girls, received little support for lower-class boys, with middle-class families intermediate.
- (3) Data on paternal involvement in rearing boys and girls in same-sex and mixed-sex families supported the predictions only in the large family. Middle-class girls were slightly more apt to perceive father as the authority figure when they had no brothers, while the reverse was true of lower-class girls.

Stroup, Atlee L. and Hunter, Katherine Jamison, "Sibling position in the family and personality of offspring," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 27 (February, 1965), pp. 65-68.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio.
- (2) Who: 1560 students who were white, middle and upper class, predominantly Protestant, averaging 17-18 years in age.
- (3) How: Data collected on all entering freshmen over a 4-year period in conjunction with the regular testing program.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Sibling position - students categorized into 2 schemes: (a) a 4-fold scheme of oldest, intermediate, youngest, and only child by sex, and (2) a 16-position system.
- (2) Personality - Gough California Inventory.

c) Assumptions

A college population is more appropriate for testing in the area involved than a grade or high school population because:

- (1) In general, personality difficulties are more inclined to appear when children are attempting to develop an identity and to assert some independence.
- (2) Any basic personality influence of sibling position would be better observed at the late adolescent level than at the level of childhood.
- (3) Most families will be "completed" by the time one sibling enters college (a methodological advantage).

d) Hypothesis

Personality development is positively correlated with ordinal position in the family.





e) Findings

The hypothesis was not supported. There were few significant findings, and these were not consistent in direction.

Kammeyer, Kenneth, "Birth order and the feminine sex role among college women," American Sociological Review, 31 (August, 1966), pp. 508-515.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: a state university.
- (2) Who: 209 unmarried girls.
- (3) How: random sample, 90% response rate; structured questionnaire.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Orientations toward feminine role behavior - 5-item Guttman scale.
- (2) Beliefs about female personality traits - 8-item summated rating scale.
- (3) Traditional social role - hypothetical question regarding willingness to marry at the expense of a college degree; religiosity.

c) Assumptions

- (1) There are two general sex roles available to American college girls, the modern and the traditional.
- (2) Two dimensions of the feminine role are involved:
  - (a) related to the proper kinds of behavior for women in various spheres of life,
  - (b) related to beliefs about the personality characteristics or psychological traits of women vis-a-vis men.
- (3) The first-born child is the subject of a somewhat different and more intensive socialization process. The first-born child is of great importance to his parents, and often to members of a wider kin group, because husbands and wives take on the new roles of father and mother, in-laws become grandparents, etc. An awareness of this position of importance is conveyed to the child along with a sense of his responsibility to the kin group. The expected role of the first-born girl is integrative and adaptive, turned inward to the world of family and kind, not outward to the world of occupational success. A first-born girl may develop the same characteristics as a first-born boy--the social-psychological traits of a relatively dominant, responsible, highly motivated person, predisposed to educational success --but these will be more apt to find an outlet in her roles as wife, mother, sister, and grandmother, than in extra-familial roles.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) First-born (and only child) girls will be more likely to have a traditional orientation toward the feminine role



than later-born girls.

- (2) First-born girls will be more likely to have traditional beliefs about female personality traits than later-born girls.
- (3) Being first-born tends to be related to a preference for the traditional social role.
- (4) First-born girls are less likely to differ from their mother's orientation toward the feminine role than later-born girls; and the same for father's orientation.

e) Findings

In terms of percentage differences:

- (1) The first hypothesis was weakly supported, the association between being first-born and having a traditional orientation being stronger among the freshmen (10% difference) than among the upperclassmen (3% difference).
- (2) The second hypothesis received stronger support, the strength of the relationship remaining the same in both partials with 14% more of the first-born girls holding traditional beliefs than later-born girls.
- (3) The third hypothesis was supported. 12% more of the first-born girls selected marriage over a college degree than of the later-born girls, the association being strongest for freshmen girls (16% difference), compared with 10% difference for upperclassmen. Similarly, first-born girls were more likely to describe themselves as religious or moderately so than upperclassmen (11% difference), the relationship being striking for freshmen (22% difference), small among upperclassmen (5% difference).
- (4) The fourth hypothesis was supported, first-born girls were more in agreement with their parents about the feminine role than later-born girls. Controlling for class in school (a) the relationship between agreeing with mother and ordinal position was strong among the freshmen (18% difference) but weak among upperclassmen (4% difference); (b) the relationship between being first-born and agreeing with father was stronger for upperclassmen (18% difference) than for freshmen (9% difference). N.B. the reversal.

Kammeyer, Kenneth, "Sibling position and the feminine role," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (August, 1967), pp. 494-499.

a) Sample

As above.

b) Operational Definitions

As above.

c) Assumptions

- (1) There are two general sex roles available to American college girls, the traditional and the modern.
- (2) The male sibling is of importance in the formation of



feminine role attitudes, i.e., aids in the differentiation process.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Girls with brothers will tend to hold more traditional orientations toward the feminine role than girls without brothers.
- (2) Girls with brothers will tend to hold more traditional beliefs about female personality traits than girls without brothers.

e) Findings

Using Q as the measure of association:

- (1) The first hypothesis was not supported. Having a brother, either older or younger, was not associated with a girl having a more traditional orientation toward the feminine role ( $Q = .02$  and  $-.06$  respectively). The only sibling position which appeared to be related to feminine role orientation were girls with an older sister. This group had a smaller percentage with the traditional orientation toward the feminine role ( $Q = -.22$ ).
- (2) The second hypothesis was not supported, the findings being in the opposite direction to that hypothesized. Girls with older brothers had a considerably smaller percentage accepting the traditional beliefs about female personality traits than girls without older brothers ( $Q = -.36$ ; also reported as significant at the .05 level using Chi-square).





## CHAPTER III

### SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION AND LEARNING

#### B. Empirical Generalizations: A Codification of Contemporary Research

##### 1. Introduction

Three modes of organization have been incorporated in the systematic abstract thus far. First, the studies were grouped under a series of subheadings which served to identify the primary focus of each study. Secondly, each study is reduced to its essential components, while at the same time retaining all the information necessary for an evaluation. Thirdly, a comparative analysis was implied to the extent that an underlying assumption was made that those studies which were grouped under the same subheading were concerned with comparable phenomena. For example, under the first subheading, "Aggression and Dependence", the four studies cited actually dealt with dimensions labelled "independence-dependence", "assertiveness-dependency", "competition-cooperation", and "exploitative-accommodative". The assumption being made in this instance is that these four dimensions are all manifestations or articulations of sex-typed behavioral complexes, the first item in each polarity being identified as a masculine trait (or as more appropriate to the male role) and the second as a feminine trait (or as more appropriate to the female role).

The organization embodied in the systematic abstract serves to lay the groundwork for the type of analysis to be presented in this chapter. This integrative analysis is at once the most complex and the most meaningful, since it subsumes the previous three types of





analyses while attempting to move toward a unified codification of the seeming diversity of material subsumed therein.

The first conceptual distinction outlined in Chapter I, namely that between personality traits and role behaviors, becomes relevant at this point. Personality traits are generally assumed to be learned in or acquired through the process of socialization, as are role behaviors. Generally, there is also at least an implicit assumption that there will tend to be a relationship between the two, that personality traits act as predisposing factors (motivations, acquired drives, or attitudes) which will influence the choice of role behaviors. Since none of the studies surveyed have explicitly concerned themselves with this distinction, the procedure followed in the codification is to first consider the assumptions common to both concepts, then to consider the assumptions relevant to each in turn.

In this chapter (and subsequently also in Chapter V) no distinction is made between assumptions and hypotheses. All are given the same status of hypotheses which has the advantage of emphasizing that neither have the formal status of "laws", and hence are all contingent upon empirical verification or refutation. Recognition of the different levels of analysis implied is achieved by labelling as "general" those hypotheses which are posed at a higher level of abstraction than those labelled "specific".

Page numbers are included in brackets where relevant to facilitate reference to sources in the systematic abstract. Where reference is made to sources not included in the systematic abstract, these are footnoted in the usual manner.



## 2. General Hypotheses

In the research attempts to empirically map the area of sex-role learning and development, little systematic attention has been paid to the underlying processes or mechanisms by which such learning occurs. In the absence of such a wider focus, which might provide a unified basis for relating studies on the divergent topics surveyed, the formulation of general hypotheses is highly tentative and involves invoking generalizations far beyond those which would be warranted on the basis of any single study per se. It is only when the studies are regarded as a unit that an attempt can be made to invoke principles which appear compatible with all.

### a. Personality Traits and Role Behaviors as Learned Attributes

In view of this paucity of concern with underlying process, the studies by Brim (pp. 42-44) and by Couch (p. 28), stand in contrast insofar as both researchers provide a theoretical framework concerned with human behavior in a broader context than that which is narrowly sex-typed or restricted to the nuclear family. Both begin with the perspective, stemming from the symbolic interactionist position, that social behavior is learned through group interaction--primarily, or initially, through the family as the most pervasive social group. Couch's concern is with the self, or the self-identification of the individual, as operationalized by the respondent writing twenty descriptive sentences to the general question, "Who am I?" It has been found that five broad categories are sufficient to order all the responses made to this instrument: social groups and classifications,



including sex as well as wider occupational, kinship, or membership referents; ideological beliefs; interests; ambitions; and self-evaluations.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Brim's concern is with masculine and feminine social roles as defined by labelling personality traits according to their judged greater relevance to instrumental or expressive roles respectively. Thus the social role as conceived by Brim is much narrower than the self as conceived by Couch. Further support of this allegation is provided by the fact that Brim was only able to assign thirty-one of the fifty-eight personality traits examined to the masculine or feminine role according to his definition.

Bearing this distinction in mind, the perspectives taken in these two studies can be integrated to provide an initial set of general hypotheses which provide a broad framework within which more specific hypotheses can be later developed:

Hypothesis 1: Humans perceive and define themselves as they believe, or have learned, others perceive and define them; they act in their social roles in accordance with the expectations perceived to be embodied in such definitions.

Hypothesis 2: Social roles and a conception of self are learned through interaction with others in social groups.

Hypothesis 3: The process of role learning through interaction can be sketched as follows: One learns the behavior appropriate to his position in a group through interaction with others who hold normative beliefs about what his role should be and who are able to reward and punish him for correct and incorrect actions. As part of the same learning process, one acquires expectations of how others in the group will behave. The latter knowledge is indispensable to the actor, in that he must be able to predict what others expect of him, and how they will react to him, in order to guide his own role performance successfully. Accurate or erroneous understanding and prediction are respectively rewarding and punishing to the actor, and learning proceeds systematically through the elimination of incorrect responses and the strengthening of correct ones.





Hypothesis 4: Learning the role of others occurs through the actor's taking the role of the other, i.e., trying to act as the other would act. Whether taking the role of others is overt or covert, certain responses (belonging to the role of the other) are made, run through, completed, and rewarded if successful, i.e., accurate, and this process adds to the repertoire of possible actions of a person those actions taken by others in their own roles. Such actions, as part of one's repertoire or pool of learned responses, are available for performance by an actor, not now simply in taking the role of the other, but as resources which he can use as part of his own role performances. The critical fact is that the actor not only can, but does, make use of responses learned in role-taking in his own role performances. This happens in two senses:

(1) the direct transfer of the role of the other to a new and parallel status of one's own, where there is a straightforward adoption of the other's role, and

(2) a more complex process of convergence between one's own role and that of the other which he takes, where there is a spill-over of elements belonging to another's role into one's own performance when it is not necessarily appropriate.

The first type of role learning could be illustrated by the modelling process, as with that of the parent and the young child in the nuclear family. In this type of learning the subordinate (the child) endeavours to imitate or copy the behavior of the superordinate (the parent); hence, it is a type of learning which occurs in situations where inequality pertains. On the other hand, the second type of role learning is that which occurs between equals or near equals, as in the peer group or between siblings close together in age. Thus it can be seen that these processes are qualitatively different and dependent upon the meaning of the interaction to the individuals involved. It can also be seen that the type of learning could change through time. Thus, the modelling process between parent and child could change as the child matures to adulthood, to be replaced by a process of convergence as parent and adult child come to interact on a companionate basis. Similarly, the modelling process might serve to more accurately describe



the type of interaction between siblings differing in age by several years, as in this instance the older sibling might serve in more of a parental-type capacity than a peer relationship with the younger sibling.

Hypothesis 5: As the process of role learning progresses from infancy through adolescence to adulthood, the individual learns not merely a series of discrete social habits but also comes to value and evaluate recurrent aspects of his own role performances. Such valued recurrent aspects may become generalized as autonomous, internalized, self-directing motives or drives capable of both energizing and directing the behavior of the individual. Together with specific role behaviors and social statuses they form the nucleus of an individual's self-concept.

Hypothesis 6: The structure of a social group, delineated by variables such as size, age, sex, power, and prestige differences, is a primary influence upon the patterns of interaction within the group, determining in major part the degree to which any two group members interact, and consequently influencing the extent and nature of role learning.

Hypothesis 7: As a pervasive social group in our society, the family will exert a major influence on the learning of social roles by the child and on his development and maintenance of self. The extent of this influence stems both from the primacy of the family as the child's first group membership, and from the constancy of this membership through time.

Combining Hypotheses 6 and 7 provides a formal basis for the common-sense assumption that the type of learning which occurs will not be identical in all families:

Hypothesis 8: As families differ in structure, this difference will be reflected in the social roles learned by the child and in the way he defines himself.

#### b. Maternal Influence on Child's Personality Traits and Role Behaviors

The definition of family structure can become infinitely complex, involving the interrelationships of the family members



themselves, as well as each member's relationship to the external system, in terms of occupational, peer, or extended kin membership for example. In terms of the family as an internal system, structural features which have been used as independent variables have included family size, sibling position, and sex of siblings.<sup>2</sup> Recognizing that variability in these factors may make a difference in the social roles learned by the child and in his development of a self-concept, the nuclear family may be viewed as a social group with four identifiable social positions: husband-father, wife-mother, son-brother, and daughter-sister (Prodipto, pp. 39-40). Each of these structurally related social positions consists of a number of role expectations (see Hypothesis 1) which may change through time or vary with background characteristics such as ethnic origin, occupation, education, and residence. These role expectations concern both the relationships of family members and their relationships to the external system.

The traditional expectations for the wife-mother position were centered almost exclusively on her position in the internal system, as mother of siblings, spouse of father, teacher, disciplinarian, and housekeeper. Expectations concerning her relationship with the external system were congruent with this family-centered emphasis, involving much the same skills as hostess, church or volunteer worker, clubwoman, or member of an extended kinship group. Monetary remuneration for her extra-family roles tended to be associated with failure of her spouse in the husband-father position.

To this traditional wife-mother position has been added the role of employee or supplemental earner, without necessary negative





implications for the husband-father position. However, as the expectations associated with the wife-mother and husband-father positions changed from those exclusively centered on the internal and external systems respectively, to a more companionate basis, several possible negative implications were postulated for the social roles learned by the child and for his self conception. The general consequences were predicted to be, although not equivocably, dysfunctional for both the child and family stability (Hoffman, pp. 22-23, 33-36; Powell, p. 30; Nye, pp. 31-32; Peterson, pp. 36-38; Burchinal, pp. 38-39; Prodipto, pp. 39-40).<sup>3</sup>

The general hypotheses which have evolved through this line of investigation may be summarized as follows:

Hypothesis 9: Of the multitude of expectations associated with the wife-mother position, the care of her dependent children is normatively held to be the most important.

Hypothesis 10: Maternal employment will have an effect on the other structural positions in the nuclear family (husband-father, daughter-sister, son-brother), and this effect will be reflected in the social roles learned by the child and in his self-conception. These effects will differ by various background factors such as sex of the child, socioeconomic status of the family, and rural-urban residence, and will not be directionally uniform. Failure to control for such factors may obscure differences which pertain.

Hypothesis 11: In families in which the mother is employed outside the home, the mother substitute (or substitutes) will be important in the socialization of the child, i.e., will have an effect on the social roles learned by the child and in his self-conception.

Hypothesis 12: The general consequences of maternal employment will be dysfunctional for the child's development. These dysfunctional consequences may stem from the fact that maternal employment may reflect the perceived or actual failure of the husband-father in his role as provider, and hence may be expected to pertain more strongly in the lower socioeconomic class.



Having outlined the foregoing set of general hypotheses with respect to sex role learning and development, attention may now be focussed on the extent to which they have received empirical support with respect to personality traits in general, and sex-role learning in particular.

### 3. Personality Traits and Attitudes

In assessing the extent to which personality traits are associated with sex-role learning and development, the procedure followed will be the reverse of that followed in outlining the foregoing general hypotheses, i.e., to begin with the specific effects of maternal employment and move towards increasingly general aspects of masculine and feminine personality traits.

#### a. Influence of Maternal Employment

With respect to Hypothesis 12, that the consequences of maternal employment tend to be dysfunctional in nature, the empirical evidence can best be described as supportive but inconclusive due to the paucity of studies and to severe methodological inadequacies. With no controls and an operational definition of maternal employment which is limited to the time of data collection (i.e., which does not account for either length of employment or number of hours worked per week), no significant differences were found between groups of children whose mothers were employed and those whose mothers were not employed with respect to anti-social behavior, withdrawing behavior, nervous symptoms, compensating behavior, or neurotic symptoms (Nye, Perry, and Ogles, p.



31; Nye, pp. 31-32). With sex of children differentiated, but socioeconomic status not controlled, Burchinal (pp. 38-39) found that on a wide range of personality characteristics, 92% of the correlations were nonsignificant but that all those which were significant supported an association between maternal employment and greater personality disturbance in children. In this design five measures of maternal employment were used to control for the period during the child's lifetime that the mother had been employed. Hoffman (pp. 33-36), on the assumption that maternal attitude toward employment would be the critical variable, found children of mothers with negative attitudes toward work showed more nonadaptive responses to frustration than a matched sample of children with nonworking mothers; the relationship was not significant for children whose mothers liked work, and again sex of the children was not differentiated. There was a strong tendency, although the relationship was not perfect, for a positive attitude toward work to be associated with higher socioeconomic status. This finding then tends to be consistent with that of Douvan (pp. 41-42) who found daughters of working-class mothers who were employed full-time showed a characteristic pattern of emotional dependency, implying a pattern of neglect. It will be noted that none of the studies present a negative claim on the hypothesis, i.e., no study has found dysfunctional consequences with respect to personality traits to be associated with the mother being a full-time homemaker.

With respect to Hypothesis 10, that maternal employment will have an effect on the social roles learned by the child and on his self-conception, the evidence is even scantier and methodological





problems more severe. Powell (p. 30) found achievement motives were stronger for preadolescent children of employed mothers than for children whose mothers were not employed, but no differences for the motives of affiliation or power. All children were from middle-class families so homogeneous with respect to social class, but: sample size was small (total N = 27) and the number of children in each group was not stated; sex of children was not differentiated; and maternal employment was simply defined at the time of data collection. Siegel et al. (pp. 21-22) found no significant differences between kindergarten children whose mothers were employed and those whose mothers were not employed with respect to the behavior systems of independence and dependence. While sex of children was not differentiated, a post hoc analysis suggested there may be an interaction between sex and these behavior systems. However, sample sizes were small; socioeconomic status varied widely, with fathers' occupations being rated from level 1 to level 6 on Hollingshead's 7-point scale; number of siblings was greater for children with nonworking mothers; and maternal employment was inadequately defined as working or not working at the time of data collection. Hoffman (pp. 22-23) investigating assertive and dependency behavior found children of working mothers who disliked their work were more assertive toward mother, used more physical force, exhibited less impulse control, and were more aggressive than their matched counterparts with nonworking mothers. No significant differences were found between children of working mothers who liked their work and a matched sample of children with nonworking mothers. Since enjoyment of work tended to be associated with higher status jobs, this indicates that



differences would tend to pertain in lower but not in higher socioeconomic strata with respect to this behavioral dimension. However, once again sex of children was not differentiated, and maternal employment was inadequately defined. Douvan (pp. 41-42) found adolescent girls whose mothers were employed full- or part-time scored relatively lower on an Index of Traditional Femininity than did a comparable group of girls whose mothers were full-time homemakers. Thus while the evidence is far from overwhelming, it does support the assumption that maternal employment does make a difference in the sex role development of the child; although some clues are offered, it does not, however, enable specification of what the specific differences by sex in each socioeconomic strata will be.

b. Influence of Family Structure

With respect to Hypothesis 8, that as families differ in their structure this difference will be reflected in the social roles learned by the child and in his self conception, the data is once again very limited in scope. Using a college population, Stroup and Hunter (pp. 46-47) found no support for the hypothesis that personality development (as measured by the Gough California Inventory) is positively correlated with ordinal position in the family for either sex. Also using a college population, Kammeyer (pp. 47-48) found first-born girls were more likely than later-born girls to have a traditional orientation toward the feminine role, to have traditional beliefs about female personality traits, to prefer the traditional social role, and to differ less from either their mother's or father's orientation towards



the feminine role. These findings were interpreted as supportive of the assertion that the expected role of the first-born girl is integrative and adaptive, turned inward to the world of family and kind, not outward to the world of occupational success. However, in view of the relatively small percentage differences between the two groups, ranging from 3% to 22%, it must be borne in mind that this is rather small relative difference in such a homogeneous population. In a second analysis of the same data, Kammeyer (pp. 48-49) found that a smaller percentage of girls with an older sister had a traditional orientation toward the feminine role than of girls without an older sister; and that a smaller percentage of girls with an older brother held traditional beliefs about female personality traits than of girls without an older brother. The implication of these attitudinal differences is confounded by the fact that the categories employed were not mutually exclusive. That is, comparisons were made, for example, between girls with an older brother and those without an older brother, but since family size was not controlled, there is no way of knowing how many of the girls in either group also had a younger brother, or an older or younger sister.

This problem of confounding due to the possible presence of other siblings was avoided by Brim (pp. 42-44) in that analysis was limited to two-child families. His findings are not directly comparable with those of Kammeyer since his analysis was of preschool children whereas Kammeyer's study dealt with a college population. However, the assumptions underlying the two studies are diametrically opposed and hence are deserving of comment. Brim assumed that in the





process of intrafamilial interaction between cross-sex siblings, a convergence of role learning, and consequently of masculine and feminine personality traits, occurs. Moreover, he assumed that this effect would be more noticeable for the younger than for the older sibling since the latter is more powerful and more able to differentiate his own from his sibling's role. Both of these assumptions were supported by the measures of masculinity and femininity employed. Kammeyer, however, assumed that a cross-sex sibling would lead not to a convergence but to a greater differentiation of roles, an assumption which was not supported. Consequently his finding, opposite to his prediction, that a smaller percentage of girls with older brothers accepted traditional beliefs about female personality traits than girls without older brothers, is consistent with the position taken by Brim.

A different approach to what is meant by family structure was that taken by Couch (p. 28) in a study of college students. Rather than family size, ordinal position, or sex of siblings he investigated the relationship between family role structure and self-identification by sex. Reported degree of role specification was found to be inversely related to self-identification by sex for females and positively related for males. The interpretation offered for this finding was that families with a high degree of role specialization were likely patriarchal families in which male and son statuses were highly evaluated, whereas female and daughter statuses were somewhat negatively evaluated. If this were the case, the negative evaluation for the daughter would contrast with the positive value placed upon the self



as a general object and she would consequently fail to identify herself by sex status.

c. Masculinity-Femininity in General

The studies by Brim and Couch serve as a pivotal point to lead away from a consideration of family structure and its impact on sex-role identification and learning to a consideration of masculinity and femininity in general. Vincent (p. 27) challenges the interpretation of traditional M-F scores due to the pragmatic method by which the scales were constructed. Items were initially selected because they discriminated significantly between the responses of the sexes at the time the tests were constructed. To the degree that they are time- and culture-bound; to the degree that these items reflect the concept of a traditional, male-dominant family and society; to the degree that male-female role expectations are becoming more equalitarian; and to the degree that role expectations affect socialization; the scales may require revision and the interpretation of scores be ambiguous.

The game situation in small groups research may provide a relatively "pure" situation in which masculine-feminine differences in personality traits can be observed, thus providing an alternative to paper-and-pencil or social judgment (rating) techniques. Lutzker's (p. 23) failure to observe sex differences in a two-person, non-zero sum game may have been due to the comparison of mixed-sex versus male same-sex pairs, i.e., to a failure to include female same-sex pairs in his design. More positive results are provided by Uesugi and Vinacke's (pp. 23-24) finding that major determinants of strategy



are both sex-typed personality variables and sex-appropriateness of the game.

In summary, the findings with respect to personality traits tend to be meager, inconclusive, and isolated, offering only a limited basis for systematic integration without a consideration of the wider data available from research on role behaviors. For this reason, evaluation of Hypothesis 5, that learning involves more than the repetition of discrete social habits, i.e., involves a process of generalization which may be referred to as personality and which will differ for males and females, will be left until after the discussion of sex role behaviors.

#### 4. Role Behaviors

With respect to Hypothesis 12, that the consequences of maternal employment tend to be dysfunctional in nature, empirical support with respect to role behaviors tends to resemble that for personality traits, supportive but inconclusive. Two dependent variables have been used to test this assumption, delinquency and academic performance.

##### a. Influence of Maternal Employment on Delinquency

With respect to delinquency, Nye (pp. 31-32) found adolescent children in grades 9 to 12 whose mothers were employed exhibited more delinquent behavior, as measured by a Guttman-type scale, than did children of unemployed mothers. This finding held when controls were introduced for socioeconomic status, family size, education of mother, rural-urban residence, and sex of adolescent.





Prodipto (pp. 39-40), also employing a Guttman-type scale and studying a comparable group of adolescents (in grades 7 to 12), found that rural samples for both boys and girls refuted the dysfunctional hypothesis, whereas urban samples for both boys and girls supported the hypothesis. Differences, however, were nonsignificant, and on a second measure, a checklist of ten items of delinquent-like behavior, showed a 5:5 ratio for both urban boys and girls.

b. Influence of Maternal Employment on Academic Performance

With respect to academic performance, Nye (pp. 31-32) found no differences in educational achievement, as measured by grade point average, for adolescent children in grades 9 to 12 whose mothers were or were not employed. Of thirteen comparisons made none were significant at the .05 level, but a majority of the nonsignificant differences favored the children of employed mothers, constituting a possible negative claim on the dysfunctional hypothesis. A second possible negative claim was provided by the data from Nolan's study (pp. 32-33). Using teacher's ratings on academic achievement, relation between child's ability and his achievement, acceptance by peers, acceptance of teacher's supervision, and evidence of home training, scores were analyzed separately in two age groupings: 6-11, and 12 and over. For the younger children, there were no statistically significant differences although the children whose mothers were employed scored higher on 4 out of the 5 comparisons (the exception was evidence of home training) than did the children whose mothers were full-time homemakers. Among the older age group, children whose mothers were employed scored



higher on all comparisons than did children whose mothers were not employed, and two of these were significant (academic achievement and acceptance by peers). Severe confounding is present in this study, however, as employed homemakers were reported to be slightly older, better educated, to have fewer children, to be more likely to have husbands in white-collar or service occupations, and less likely to have husbands who were farmers. Results favoring children of employed mothers may thus be attributable to these socioeconomic or structural factors rather than to maternal employment. Prodipto (pp. 39-40) using school grades and aspiration (measured by asking whether students planned to continue studies into the college level) as measures of academic performance also found inconclusive results for adolescents in grades 7 to 12. None of the comparisons were statistically significant but the results suggested more consistency in the rural-town dichotomy than on the boy-girl dichotomy. The results suggested that the employment of town mothers may lower the performance and aspirations of their children (in 3 out of 4 cases), but that the employment of rural mothers may raise their academic performance and aspirations, in all four comparisons.

On the other hand, Burchinal (pp. 38-39) measuring school adjustment by intelligence, achievement, school grades, days absent, and days tardy, and social adjustment by participation in school and nonschool activities, found all significant results supported the dysfunctional hypothesis for adolescent children in the 7th and 11th grades; however, only 22 of the 140 correlation coefficients computed were statistically significant. A pattern of association emerged



among 11th grade girls, where 6 of the 10 correlations involving tardiness or absenteeism were statistically significant, ranging from .14 to .23. Of the four nonsignificant coefficients, three were in the predicted direction, the exception being for the group whose mothers had been employed during the first to third year of their lives. Stronger support for the dysfunctional hypothesis was provided by Hoffman's study (pp. 33-36) of preadolescents in the 3rd through 6th grades. Measuring intellectual performance by teacher ratings and intellectual ability by standardized aptitude and intelligence tests, she reasoned that if working mothers who like work are guilty about their employment and consequently overprotect their children, then the intellectual ability of their children may be impaired. Mothers who solve their children's problems for them may hamper their intellectual development by depriving them of valuable problem-solving experience. Low performance of children of mothers who dislike work might be characteristic of a rebellious pattern. Support was provided (t test, .05 level of significance) for her predictions that children of mothers who like work will be lower on intellectual ability than will their counterparts with nonworking mothers; whereas, children of mothers who dislike work and their counterparts with nonworking mothers will be members of the same population with regard to intellectual ability. Both groups of children with working mothers were found to be significantly lower in intellectual performance than their counterparts with nonworking mothers. This finding casts further doubt on the validity of Nolan's findings for children of comparable ages.





These findings with regard to the dysfunctional effects of maternal employment differ in one significant respect from those regarding personality traits, in that some of the findings, however tenable they may be, do present negative claims on the hypothesis. In contrast, it will be remembered that while not all of the findings with respect to personality traits were significant, neither were there any negative claims on the dysfunctional hypothesis.

c. Influence of Maternal Employment on Other Role Behaviors

With respect to Hypothesis 10, that maternal employment will have an effect on the social roles learned by the child and on his self-conception, the evidence tends to be supportive, but noncumulative. Using task participation as the dependent variable, Hoffman (pp. 33-36), studying children in the 3rd through 6th grade, found no significant differences between children of mothers who liked work and their matched counterparts with nonworking mothers; whereas children whose mothers disliked work performed more tasks than their matched counterparts with nonworking mothers. Prodipto (pp. 39-40), studying adolescents in grades 7 to 12, found town boys and girls, and rural boys, whose mothers were employed full-time performed household chores more often than the children of non-employed mothers. The rural girls did not provide consistent predictions in either direction; of 21 tasks investigated rural girls with mothers who worked full-time performed 10 less and 11 more often than rural girls whose mothers were full-time homemakers. Douvan (pp. 41-42), studying adolescent girls aged 11 to 18, found part-time maternal employment had a relatively stable



meaning in both the working and middle class whereas full-time maternal employment did not. The picture which emerged was one in which daughters of full-time homemakers performed the least household tasks, daughters of mothers who were employed part-time performed more, daughters of middle-class mothers who were employed full-time performed still more, whereas daughters of working-class mothers who were employed full-time had the most responsibility for home tasks. This finding would be consistent with Hoffman's for children whose mothers disliked work, as she found a tendency for a dislike of work to be associated with lower socioeconomic status. Hoffman's finding of no significant difference for children whose mothers liked work, associated with higher socioeconomic status, might reflect a factor of outside help in middle-class families with children at this younger age. There is no evidence to support this statement, but paid household help, or the presence of additional adults such as grandparents in the nuclear family, would appear to be a neglected and necessary control in further studies investigating this variable.

With respect to a related variable, outside work for pay, both Prodipto (pp. 39-40) and Douvan (pp. 41-42) found daughters with working mothers to more often have jobs outside the home, sons to less often have jobs outside the home. The patterning of Douvan's findings was the same as for performance of household tasks, with daughters of mothers who were full-time homemakers least often holding outside jobs, and daughters of working-class mothers who worked full-time most often holding outside jobs.



Other role behaviors have received little attention in the literature surveyed. Prodipto (pp. 39-40) measuring social activities in terms of dating behavior and organizational participation found no differences for adolescents in grades 7 to 12 when children of mothers who were employed full-time were compared with children of mothers who were full-time homemakers (i.e., children of mothers who were employed part-time were excluded from the analysis). Rural-urban residence was controlled in this study; socioeconomic status was not.

d. Influence of Maternal Employment by Social Class

The failure to control for socioeconomic status appears important when Prodipto's finding of no difference is contrasted with Douvan's (pp. 41-42) descriptive study based on a secondary analysis of two large national sample interview studies of adolescent boys and girls, the data for which was collected in the early 1950's. Controlling for both sex of adolescent and for socioeconomic status as measured by father's occupation, a similar pattern was found to pertain for daughters of mothers who were employed part-time in both the middle and working class and middle-class mothers who were employed full-time. This pattern was different than that which pertained for the daughters of working-class mothers who were employed full-time.

In contrast to a comparable group of adolescent girls whose mothers were full-time homemakers, Douvan found working and middle-class adolescent girls aged 11 to 18 whose mothers were employed part-time, and middle-class adolescent girls whose mothers were employed full-time:





1. were more responsible for home tasks and more often had jobs outside the home
2. belonged to a larger number of clubs and organizations
3. dated more often and went steady more often
4. more often spent their leisure with their families
5. showed a pattern of development more common to boys than to girls in terms of autonomous development and independence of thought and values, insofar as they: (a) had more open disagreements with their parents in general, and in the specific areas of clothes, dating, hours, driving, friends, ideas, (b) were more likely to disagree with their parents about ideas, (c) had parents who more frequently expected them to be self-reliant and independent at the same time they stressed good manners and ladylike deportment, (d) were more often allowed a share in rule making, (e) more often pictured their parents as "strict and reasonable" in their exercise of authority, (f) less often viewed their parents as lenient, (g) scored relatively lower on an Index of Traditional Femininity, (h) more often chose traditionally masculine occupational goals, (i) more often aspired to upward social mobility in terms of jobs they wanted their future husbands to hold, and (j) more often chose their fathers as adult ideal
6. more often chose their mother as an adult ideal
7. less narrowly restricted their choices of adult ideal models to the family group, i.e., (a) did not choose relatives other than the mother as often, (b) more often thought a friend can be as close as a relative, and (c) were less likely to say (in response to a projective question) that a girl should leave a good job to return home to her



lonely mother

8. scored higher on an index of internalization, i.e., (a) more often said a girl would obey her parents because she had promised, because of a sense of trust, and (b) were more likely to feel that if a girl did break her promise to her parents, she would tell them of her misdeed later.

On the other hand, in contrast to a comparable group of all other girls (i.e., middle- and working-class girls whose mothers were employed part-time or were full-time homemakers, and middle-class girls whose mothers were employed full-time), working class adolescent girls aged 11 to 18 whose mothers were employed full-time:

1. were more responsible for home tasks, more often had jobs outside the home, and went steady more often
2. did not as commonly belong to clubs or other organized social groups, or have as many group attachments; had tried fewer leisure activities; had less interest in trying new sports, games, or hobbies; did less leisure reading; spent less leisure time with the family; spent more time "alone"; and shared leisure activities with a friend more often than with family members
3. disagreed with parents less
4. showed more emotional dependency, i.e., (a) more often thought of their mother in the role of confidante, (b) were more likely (on a projective question) to say a girl should leave a good job and return home to her lonely mother when requested to do so, and (c) more often chose their adult models exclusively from within the family.



Compared with girls whose mothers were full-time homemakers, they:

5. chose their mothers as models more frequently (as often as girls whose mothers were employed part-time, and middle-class girls whose mothers were employed full-time)

6. had as many conflicts with their parents, and this number of conflicts was less than for girls whose mothers were employed part-time or for middle-class girls whose mothers were employed full-time.

On the basis of these findings, the motivational pattern inferred by Douvan as descriptive of the working mother who was employed part-time and the middle-class mother who was employed full-time was that of the woman who chose to work and maintained a sense of obligation and responsibility toward her family. This complex pattern was inferred to require unusual energy, with the conditions to the pattern being set by a primary commitment to the family role. On the other hand, the motivational pattern inferred as descriptive of the lower-class mother who was employed full-time was that of the woman who worked because of serious economic need and whose psychological make-up did not necessarily prepare her for the dual roles of homemaker and worker. This pattern was described as "guilt-free", akin to the group of employed homemakers who disliked their work studied by Hoffman (pp. 22-23, 33-36). That is, the assumption being made is that the lower-class mother who is employed full-time is working because of financial need; since she is working because she has to work, it is further assumed that she will therefore experience no feelings of guilt at having less time available to spend with her children.





These motivational patterns inferred as descriptive of working mothers were viewed as affecting their children in the following manner. Daughters of middle-class mothers who worked full-time and of mothers from both the middle and working class who worked part-time had warm and close ties to families which provided them with a feminine model of unusual energy, independence, and responsibility. In modelling themselves after their mothers, they developed an autonomy growing out of an identification with an independent mother which was encouraged by the parents. This autonomy implies not a rejection of the parents, but rather an internalization of their values. These mothers offered a model of integration that was not primarily based on traditional concepts of femininity and the feminine role. Girls in this group thus more often aspired to social mobility, and more often fitted a masculine mobility model. They conceived of future achievement as a family enterprise which they will share with ambitious husbands.

On the other hand, daughters of working class mothers who worked full-time were viewed as exhibiting a mixed pattern of developed autonomy and unresolved dependency, suggesting a pattern of neglect. They carried heavy responsibilities, lacked normal leisure commitments, and apparently found in extra-family relationships (i.e., the steady dating relationship) the secure and stable companionship lacking at home. Though sharing little time with their families, they had a strong and sentimental conception of the importance of family ties. It was suggested girls from such families might be sentimental about the family and more dependent on it because their needs for family-based security were inadequately met.



Support for the foregoing interpretation was inferred from the fact that only lower-class boys with mothers who worked full-time differed from other boys on the measures employed. They differed from their age mates in that they:

1. chose their own fathers as an adult model less often than other boys and more frequently said they had no adult ideals
2. were more rebellious in response to adult authority and showed signs of a poor ego integration
3. had a relatively short time perspective and a low level of general activity
4. did not have part-time jobs as often as other boys (consistent with Prodipto's finding, pp. 39-40)
5. had very few organizational ties and active leisure engagements
6. dated more actively.

This pattern was inferred as the one case in which maternal employment implied something about the father as a model. Congruent with the inference that the working-class mother who worked full-time was doing so because of serious economic need, it was pointed out that the fact that a mother "must" work, irrespective of her personal wishes, does not speak well for the father's capacity as a provider.

The preceding study was reported in considerable detail as it represents the most serious attempt to present an integrated interpretation of the meaning and consequences of maternal employment for all the positional roles in the family. However, the validity of the economic interpretation offered in explanation of the findings is highly questionable since all adolescents in the study were from intact



families in which the father was employed. Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest little relationship exists between husband's income and maternal employment for mothers of older children.<sup>4</sup> It may be that the explanation for the observed pattern lies not in one of "severe economic deprivation" but rather of income dissatisfaction, perceived financial need, or upward mobility strivings on the part of the working-class full-time working wife, with attendant negative evaluation of her spouse as a provider. Family integration may be the variable which is being tapped in all cases. Thus, it is our contention that maternal employment would always imply something about the father as a model. In the working class where employment perhaps offers less scope for self-fulfillment, the money earned by the wife may symbolize her husband's failure in her eyes and thus provide a measure of family disintegration. Part-time employment in either class, or full-time maternal employment in the middle class may more often provide self-fulfillment and serve as an index of family integration in working together for a common goal.

##### 5. Conclusions and Specific Hypotheses

If any one conclusion can be drawn from the foregoing review of the literature, it must be the acknowledgment that there currently exists no unequivocal theory of sex-role identification and development which would subsume all of the contemporary research findings under a set of interrelated and integrated assumptions. The situation as it currently stands, as Merton pointed out with respect to sociological theories in general, "consists of general orientations towards data,





suggesting types of variables which need somehow to be taken into account, rather than clear, verifiable statements of relationships between specified variables. We have many concepts but few confirmed theories; many points of view, but few theorems; many 'approaches', but few arrivals."<sup>5</sup>

On a more positive note, there appears to be a trend towards a convergence of orientations in terms of a theory of role learning through the process of interaction. This orientation, as outlined in the twelve general hypotheses at the beginning of this chapter, can be recognized as evolving from many theoretical precedents. The most systematic and influential of these precedents has been Talcott Parsons' reinterpretation of the Freudian stages of psychosexual development, insofar as it integrated diverse perspectives from psychology, sociology, and social psychology.<sup>6</sup> The most outstanding contribution of Parsons' analysis to a theory of sex-role learning and development, has been his emphasis on socialization as a process which necessarily always involves the dual aspects of social interaction and personality. The primary structure of the personality, for Parsons, is "organized about the internalization of systems of social objects which originated as the role-units of the successive series of social systems in which the individual has come to be integrated in the course of his life history."<sup>7</sup> Socialization is thus viewed as necessarily both continuous and discrete, continuous insofar as the internalization of social objects in previous social systems will have an effect on interaction in a current, new, social system, and discrete insofar as each new social system in which the individual interacts may demand a



reorganization of the previously internalized system of social objects. This insight has not merited the attention it deserves in contemporary research investigations, insofar as little attention has been directed towards the effect of extra-familial role positions, of either parents or the child, upon the socialization of the child. Furthermore, this distinction is of special importance in the consideration of female sex-role learning and development since the female can be socialized into either of two socially sanctioned full-time adult roles, that of homemaker or that of career woman (or, of course, into an expectation of some combination of both).

a. Discontinuities in Research

It is somewhat paradoxical that the group of research studies concerned with the effects of maternal employment have on the one hand come closest to realizing such an interactional perspective and on the other hand that this variable has apparently been abandoned as a focus of inquiry by contemporary sociologists. In fact, the area of sex-role learning and development has received little systematic attention from sociologists in the literature covered in recent years. The twenty-three empirical studies surveyed covered a ten-year span, from 1958 to the present, but of these only five were published since 1963, i.e., within the last five years. Of these five studies none were directed towards investigation of the effects of maternal employment on sex-role learning and development, nor did they employ maternal employment as a control variable (in spite of its demonstrated importance in the literature subsequent to that time). Vener and Snyder (p. 25) dealt with



the preschool child's awareness and anticipation of adult sex roles; Vincent (p. 27) with the validity of standardized masculinity-femininity tests; Stroup and Hunter (pp. 46-47) and Kammeyer (pp. 47-48, and 48-49) with sibling position and birth order.

This paradox is perhaps best understood by an awareness that just as it is true that no theorist can escape the intellectual milieu into which he is born, so also will his writings be interpreted in terms of the social ideology of the times. Thus while for illustrative purposes, Parsons described an oversimplified or "ideal type" of nuclear family as a basic four-role pattern differentiated along a power and along an instrumental-expressive axis, this differentiation was seized upon as the paradigm for the "normal" nuclear family--normal in the sense that deviations from it would have dysfunctional consequences for family solidarity as well as for the personalities of the individual members. That is, his "ideal type" was taken to infer that the father-husband position must be instrumental in nature (equated with being the sole wage earner in the family) and that the mother-wife position must be expressive (equated with being a full-time homemaker), for the family to "function" normally.<sup>8</sup> This interpretation was part of the common-sense fear engendered as increasing numbers of wives and mothers entered the labor force subsequent to World War II. The research on the effects of maternal employment was carried out as an integral part of this same reaction and counterreaction; once it was demonstrated that the effects of maternal employment were not necessarily dysfunctional for the child's development, interest in this variable also correspondingly disappeared.





In attempting to combine the findings with respect to female sex-role development and learning into a meaningful set of hypotheses, then, one is tempted to plead not so much for an integration between theory and research, as for an integration between research and research. The survey of findings with respect to personality traits and role behaviors conclusively demonstrates that such factors as whether or not the mother is employed outside the home, socioeconomic status as it reflects different life patterns, place of residence (i.e., rural or urban), sex composition of the family with respect to siblings, and birth order, do make a difference in the sex-role development and learning of the female child. An ideal theoretical design would be one which predicted, at successive stages of the life cycle, the nature of the sex-role expectations which are internalized as these factors vary. It would begin with an examination of the female as a member of a single subsystem, the nuclear family, and would, for example, specify the sex-role expectations internalized by a two-year old girl whose mother was employed full-time, whose father's occupation could be categorized as middle class, who lived in a single-family unit in an urban environment, who had one older sibling, a brother. Knowing the internalized set of expectations for self would be affected as the child became a member of another social system, if she was enrolled in a nursery school class at age three for example. The advantage of such a detailed analysis, from a predictive point of view, could best be assessed at age six, the age at which all children must enter school and consequently must expand their membership beyond the nuclear family. One might predict, for example, greater initial stress



for a girl whose mother is a full-time homemaker, whose father's occupation could be categorized as working-class, who lived in a single-family unit in an urban environment, and who had one younger sibling, a sister, than would be predicted for the child previously described. The basis for this prediction would be that the second child would have internalized a more narrowly restricted set of social objects, and consequently would adapt less easily to the new social system of the school. The implication of this greater stress could then be assessed for future stages of development, and the consequences assessed through time.

It is not seriously being suggested that such a complex design could be attempted with present methodological techniques, or within the limitations imposed by time and money on most researchers. What is being suggested is the formulation of research designs with such a wider implication in mind. Thus one particular study for example might compare the effects of maternal employment on the sex-role expectations internalized by preschool girls from middle class, urban, two-child families whose older sibling was a brother. The advantage of such a design would be that of eliminating confounding due to the possible effects of either or both a cross-sex sibling or maternal employment broadening the sex-role expectations internalized by the female. More complex analysis of variance designs could also be implemented to assess both main and interaction effects. Only by such a body of studies, each concerned with such carefully controlled comparisons, will it be possible to articulate an interrelated set of assumptions with respect to developmental sequence. In the absence of such a framework, the



studies which have been carried out can be examined for possible insights into the implementation of such an articulation.

b. Same-Sex and Cross-Sex Interaction Patterns

Research on sex-role learning and development at the age level of the preschool child has been directed towards investigating two related but distinguishable phenomena: the child's awareness of sex-typed activities and artifacts, and his or her preference for activities or artifacts which are appropriately sex-linked. Research at this age level has been primarily concerned with the demonstration of sex differences rather than with the identification of contributing factors which might account for intrasex variability. With respect to sex differences, two separate theoretical lines of reasoning have been followed. The first approach reasoned that since the masculine role was more highly valued than the female, males would be punished more severely for adopting feminine activities than females would be for adopting masculine activities, and consequently females would exhibit greater variability in sex-role preference than would males.<sup>10</sup> While this approach was apparently supported by some studies,<sup>11</sup> it has also been pointed out that the measure employed, a projective technique involving an ambiguous stick figure, may have been interpreted as masculine by some females and thus have led to their making choices appropriate to a masculine figure, rather than for themselves.<sup>12</sup> The second approach reasoned that there is a lessening of the differentiation between male and female roles, with an attendant weakening of restraints on both sexes against engaging in cross-sex activities; however, since





the young child is primarily enmeshed in a female world to the extent that his mother is present more than his father, boys will show more variability in preferences for the feminine role than girls do for the masculine.<sup>13</sup> Vener and Snyder's (p. 25) study could be interpreted as supportive of this latter position insofar as the children in their study, aged from 2 1/2 to 5 years, more readily identified artifacts associated with the female than with the male role, and girls were more clear-cut in same-sex preferences at all ages. On the expectation that greater permissiveness pertains in middle-class than in lower-class homes, and that a greater opportunity will exist for the child to engage in cross-sex activities when there is a sibling of the opposite sex in the home, the following predictions could be generated with respect to intrasex variability for the female role:

Hypothesis 13: Preschool girls from middle-class homes will exhibit more cross-sex activity and artifact preference than will preschool girls from lower-class homes. Awareness of the appropriate sex-linkages of such activities and artifacts will not differ between the two groups.

Hypothesis 14: Preschool girls with a cross-sex sibling will exhibit both more awareness of and preference for cross-sex activities and artifacts than will only-child preschool girls or girls with only same-sex siblings.

These hypotheses would be consistent with the position taken by Brim (pp. 42-44), and on the basis of his study the additional hypothesis may be generated that:

Hypothesis 15: The acquisition of cross-sex preferences will add to the behavioral repertoire of the preschool girl. That is, if the dimension of affectivity were tapped, the preference for cross-sex activities and artifacts would not be associated with a corresponding dislike of same-sex activities and artifacts. The pattern which would emerge would be one of a wider range of preferences and liked activities, rather than a rejection of the feminine role.



The problem which arises is that of the extent to which these predictions would articulate with the role behaviors and preferences of the same children as they enter the school situation. Broderick and Fowler (pp. 25-26) have dealt tangentially with this aspect in their study of cross-sex interaction patterns among children in the 5th, 6th, and 7th grades. However, their interest was in historical trends, i.e., in the decrease in cross-sex avoidance patterns at these ages over the past forty years. While their study investigated such cross-sex behavior for children from the upper lower to upper middle class, their approach could be combined with Douvan's findings with respect to maternal employment (pp. 41-42) to formulate the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 16: Preadolescent girls from middle class homes will exhibit more cross-sex interaction patterns than will preadolescent girls from lower class homes. Specifically, they will exhibit more cross-sex friendship choices, more often report that they have a sweetheart, and will report a higher level of dating and kissing experience.

Hypothesis 17: Preadolescent girls from lower (working) class homes whose mothers are employed full-time will exhibit more cross-sex interaction patterns than will a comparable group of preadolescent girls whose mothers are employed part-time or who are full-time homemakers. There will be no differences among preadolescent girls from middle class homes with respect to cross-sex interaction patterns whether their mothers are employed full- or part-time, or whether they are full-time homemakers.

Hypothesis 18: Preadolescent girls from middle-class homes will exhibit more cross-sex interaction patterns if they have a cross-sex sibling than if they are an only child or have only same-sex siblings. There will be no difference in cross-sex interaction patterns among preadolescent girls from lower (working) class homes whether they have cross-sex, same-sex, or no siblings.

The data with respect to adolescent girls is sufficiently sparse to make the formulation of specific assumptions exceedingly difficult. However, on the basis of the findings of Powell (p. 30),





Hoffman (pp. 33-36), Peterson (pp. 36-38), Prodipto (pp. 39-40), and Douvan (pp. 41-42), the following tentative formulations are offered:

Hypothesis 19: Hypotheses 16, 17, and 18 will also hold for adolescent girls.

Hypothesis 20: Adolescent girls from lower-class homes will perform more household tasks and more often hold part-time employment than will adolescent girls from middle-class homes; adolescent girls whose mothers are employed either full- or part-time will perform more household tasks than will adolescent girls whose mothers are full-time homemakers. Combining these two assumptions: The number of household tasks performed and incidence of outside employment will decrease across the following categories, working-class girls whose mothers are employed full-time, working-class girls whose mothers are employed part-time or middle-class girls whose mothers are employed full- or part-time, working-class girls whose mothers are full-time homemakers, and middle-class girls whose mothers are full-time homemakers.

Hypothesis 21: The motivational patterns underlying Hypotheses 19 and 20 will be different in the two major social classes. Working-class girls whose mothers are employed full-time will exhibit motivational characteristics congruent with a pattern of neglect; they will exhibit more delinquent behavior and will be lower on intellectual performance than will working-class girls whose mothers are employed part-time or are full-time homemakers. Working-class girls whose mothers are employed part-time and middle-class girls whose mothers are employed full- or part-time will exhibit a masculine mobility pattern; their intellectual performance will be higher and their incidence of delinquency less than for matched counterparts whose mothers are full-time homemakers.

Corollary: Insofar as the middle-class mother who is employed full-time and has been so employed for the major portion of her daughter's life may have more interest invested in her career than in her home, the intellectual performance and incidence of delinquency for girls in this pattern may exhibit a curvilinear pattern.

Congruent with the foregoing hypotheses and analysis, the following predictions could be made with respect to intrasex variability among college students in a laboratory situation similar to that reported by Uesugi and Vinacke (pp. 23-24):

Hypothesis 22: In a competitive game situation, college girls whose mothers are employed full- or part-time (and have been so employed for a significant portion of their lives) will exhibit a competitive, masculine style of play more often than will college girls whose mothers





have been full-time homemakers for the major portion of their lives. Girls with cross-sex siblings will exhibit a more competitive style of play than will only-child girls or girls with only same-sex siblings. Combining these two predictions, girls with cross-sex siblings whose mothers have been employed for a major portion of their lives would be expected to exhibit a competitive style of play most often, girls who are only children or who have only same-sex siblings and whose mothers have been full-time homemakers during a major portion of their lives to exhibit a feminine cooperative style of play, with girls in other categories being intermediate between these two types.

c. Methodological Problems

In concluding this analysis it is felt that there are three methodological problems which are of a sufficiently acute nature that attention must be drawn to them. First, information on the variable of maternal employment should be collected in such a manner that it can be ascertained whether it has been in effect for a sufficient length of time to have exerted an influence on the child's development. Two dimensions need to be taken into account, the number of hours worked per week, and the employment history of the mother. The length of time that the mother has been employed, of course, becomes more crucial as the population being studied represents more advanced stages of the life-cycle. Failure to adequately define this variable, with the exception of the study by Burchinal (pp. 38-39) makes it impossible to predict the effects of interrupted career patterns versus continuous career patterns at different stages of the life-cycle, and must await further empirical investigation.

Secondly, it is felt that the methodological technique of group frequency matching with respect to socioeconomic status is an inappropriate technique for research in this area. For example, it might be



expected that the presence of a mother who is a full-time homemaker might have the same implication for sex-role development and learning in both of the major social classes. However, full-time employment may differentially reflect patterns of neglect, overprotection, or autonomy and these differences will most likely be class-linked. To the extent that the effect of these motivational patterns will elicit contradictory patterns of development, matching may thus serve to obscure differences which do pertain. It is, therefore, felt necessary to employ research designs that subcategorize by socioeconomic status.

Thirdly, it is felt that the objective categories of working and middle class may be inadequate to portray the differential meaning which maternal employment may convey in different nuclear families. It is felt that attention should be directed towards such variables as family integration, e.g., the attitude of the husband towards his wife's employment, or to more subjective measures of socioeconomic status. Peterson's (pp. 36-38) categorization of middle class, working class, and cross-class identifiers seems to represent a positive step in this direction.



# FOOTNOTES

1. Kuhn, Manford H., "Self-attitudes by age, sex, and professional training," Sociological Quarterly, 1 (January, 1960), pp. 39-55.
2. See Irish, Donald P., "Sibling interaction: a neglected aspect in family life research," Social Forces, 42 (March, 1964), pp. 279-288. He points out that within the framework of the family as a "unity of interacting personalities" research can be organized along several sets of structural relationships: interactions between adult members, between parents and children, and among children. The latter relationship is important because ties among siblings will be close in most homes, second in strength only to those between parent(s) and child(ren). Sibling research has been impeded by several factors including the emphasis on parental responsibility, Freudian thought which focusses on the importance for personality of childhood development, and an "adultomorphic" bias created by the age of the researchers.
3. See also Odenwald, Robert P., The Disappearing Sexes, New York: Random House, 1965, who, taking an even more extremely alarmist position, predicts widespread homosexuality as the consequence of the increased similarity in the education of boys and girls, and lack of sharply differentiated parental role models.
4. National Manpower Council, Womanpower, New York: Columbia University Press, 1957, p. 72. The negative relationship between husband's income and maternal employment is strongest for mothers of small children. For mothers of older children, the relationship is not linear, and the figures suggest financial need is a less salient reason for employment. For mothers of older children there was little difference in employment rates if his income was under \$5,000.
5. Merton, Robert K., Social Theory and Social Structure, Revised Edition, New York: The Free Press, 1957, p. 9.
6. Parsons, Talcott, "Family structure and the socialization of the child," in Parsons, Talcott and Bales, Robert F., Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1955, pp. 35-131.
7. Ibid., p. 54, emphasis in original.
8. This misinterpretation of the Parsonian position is dramatically expressed in the popular "non-fiction" novel The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan, New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1964. See especially Chapter 5, "The sexual solipism





of Sigmund Freud," and Chapter 6, "The functional freeze, the feminine protest, and Margaret Mead," pp. 95-141.

9. Parsons, op. cit., p. 54.
10. Lynn, David B., "The process of learning parental and sex-role identification," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (November, 1966), pp. 466-470.
11. Hall, Marjorie and Keith, Robert A., "Sex-role preference among children of upper and lower social class," Journal of Social Psychology, 62 (February, 1964), pp. 101-110; Heatherington, E. Mavis, "A developmental study of the effects of sex of the dominant parent on sex-role preference, identification, and imitation in children," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2 (August, 1965), pp. 188-194.
12. Brown, Daniel G., "Sex-role preference in children: methodological problems," Psychological Reports, 11 (October, 1962), pp. 477-478.
13. Lansky, Leonard M., and McKay, Gerald, "Sex role preferences of kindergarten boys and girls: some contradictory results," Psychological Reports, 13 (October, 1963), pp. 415-421.



## CHAPTER IV

### ADULT FEMALE SEX ROLES

#### A. Abstract of Empirical Research

##### 1. Role Choice Among Adolescents

##### a. Marriage and Career

Turner, Ralph H., "Some family determinants of ambition," Sociology and Social Research, 46 (July, 1962), pp. 397-411.

##### a) Sample

- (1) Where: Los Angeles.
- (2) Who: 1057 male and 1118 female native white "anglo" high school seniors.
- (3) How: Representative sampling; questionnaires administered in classrooms.

##### b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Level of ambition - scores on a composite index.
- (2) Ambition emphasis - material-educational polarization index.
- (3) Involvement in the subculture of a class different from the family's objective position - discrepancy between education and occupation of father.
- (4) Family stability - three questions concerning amount of life lived with parents and relative earnings of father and mother.

##### c) Assumptions

- (1) The family mediates the impact of social class position on the child in two ways:
  - (a) The family either faithfully creates the typical life situation for each member, or it creates a situation which is atypical for members of the social stratum.
  - (b) The family transmits a subculture which either corresponds to the family's position or deviates from it.
- (2) The development of ambition is a matter of cultural learning which is facilitated by the stable middle class family.

##### d) Hypotheses

- (1) The breadwinner's education has an effect on the child's ambition apart from objective family station, i.e., high parental education is associated with a high level of ambition.
  - (a) Material-educational polarization index values are negatively associated with parents' education.
- (2) High ambition is associated with the family situation in which the mother has more education than the father. (The mother may be better able to represent a class position higher than the family's objective station. As the person actively responsible for the family position, the father



has difficulty representing a higher level without disparaging himself and his own efforts. The mother, on the other hand, escapes responsibility and can be less ambivalent. If the mother has more schooling than her husband she represents a higher status level than her husband has achieved for the family.)

- (a) Ambition emphasis, as measured by the material-educational polarization index, is negatively associated with higher mother- than father-education. That is, superior mother's education will be associated with a tendency to stress the educational side of ambition rather than the material side.
- (b) Mother's education is a more important additional predictor (to father's occupation) than father's education.
- (3) Family stability, as measured by having lived with father and mother (or step-parents) for most of the child's life, is associated with high ambition and relative emphasis on educational ambition.
  - (a) The relationship with presence or absence of the mother is greater than with presence or absence of the father.
- (4) Family size is negatively related to ambition level, and positively with a tendency to stress the material side of ambition rather than the educational.
- (5) Level of ambition will be highest for the oldest child. (The first child has a period of exclusive attention that others do not have, at a time when the novelty of a child's behavior enhances parental interest. In addition, the practice of primogeniture has left its traces in contemporary culture, so that more responsibility for the future station of the family is placed on the oldest son.)
- (6) If ambition can be regarded as something of a masculine attitude, the boy without sisters should be more ambitious than the boy with sisters.
  - (a) The girl with brothers should be more ambitious than the girl without brothers.

e) Findings

- (1) Hypotheses 1 and 1a were supported by the direction of mean differences in 7 out of 8 occupational categories for both men and women.
- (2) Hypotheses 2 and 2a received slight support. Hypothesis 2b was not supported.
- (3) Hypotheses 3 and 3a were not supported.
- (4) Hypothesis 4 was supported for both males and females (.001).
- (5) Hypothesis 5 was supported for both sexes with no controls. When "only children" were eliminated and number of siblings, and relation between sibling position were controlled, there were no significant relationships by chi-square analysis.
- (6) Hypothesis 6 was not supported.





Podell, Lawrence, "Sex and role conflict," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (May, 1966), pp. 163-165.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: not stated.
- (2) Who: 276 college senior males.
- (3) How: attitudinal questionnaire.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Occupational specificity-diffuseness - a 6-item Guttman scale.
- (2) Occupational neutrality-affectivity - a 6-item Guttman scale.
- (3) Familial role expectancies - a 4-item Guttman scale.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

The ordering of respondents on the occupational dimensions was related to their attitudes concerning the direct inclusion of family in their occupational lives. For males favoring the inclusion of wife and family the percentages ran from 67% on the diffuseness scale to 37% on the specificity scale, and from 75% on the affectivity scale to 39% on the neutrality scale. There were no reversals in the table. That is, college males predisposed to occupational diffuseness and affectivity were more likely to view favorably the inclusion of wife and family in their occupational achievement.

Christensen, Harold T., "Lifetime family and occupational role projections of high school students," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (May, 1961), pp. 181-183.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: National sample.
- (2) Who: 2,000 10th, 11th, and 12th grade high school students.
- (3) How: 6,000 student replies to questionnaires reduced by stratifying according to school grade and regional residence to make sample representative of nation's high school population.

b) Operational Definitions

Lifetime role projections - students asked to indicate about when they plan to marry and start a family, and the approximate activity categories they thought would characterize both themselves and the person they might marry, during specified time periods over a 60-year span from graduation.

c) Assumptions

Though plans do not always work out, they very frequently do; hence there is real value in studying them as a sort of preview of things to come.



d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) Females who planned to marry either during or very soon after high school were predominantly from low income and low educational level homes.
- (2) More females than males planned to start college, but fewer intended to finish, or to go longer than 4 years, indicating more females plan to attend college for social reasons and fewer for professional reasons, as compared with males.
- (3) Females saw part-time employment as appropriate at all stages of life; males only during first few years following graduation and then to some extent later in life.
- (4) Homemaking was reserved almost exclusively for females. The few males (between 10-16%) who did choose it also planned for other activities at the same time, indicating they regarded homemaking for themselves as incidental and only in terms of giving assistance to the wife.

Kammeyer, Kenneth, "The feminine role: an analysis of attitude consistency," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 26 (August, 1964), pp. 295-305.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: a state university campus.
- (2) Who: 209 unmarried undergraduate girls.
- (3) How: random sample; structured questionnaire.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Attitudes toward feminine role behavior - 5-item Guttman scale.
- (2) Attitudes toward female personality traits - 8-item summated rating (Likert type) scale.
- (3) Amount of interaction in the college milieu - measured by number of college friends reported, and dating frequency.
- (4) Parental contact - measured by the number of weekends the subject had gone home during the semester, the frequency with which she wrote letters home, and the frequency with which she made phone calls home.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Two general sex roles are available to American college girls, the traditional and modern roles.
- (2) Two dimensions are conceptually distinguishable: feminine role behavior and female personality traits.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Attitudes toward feminine role behavior and attitudes toward female personality traits are highly related.
- (2) As girls pass through the 4 years of college, their attitudes concerning these two dimensions remain more or less stable.





- (3) Amount of interaction in the college milieu leads to greater attitude consistency about the feminine role. That is: (a) girls who report many college friends will be more consistent in their attitudes than girls who report few college friends; (2) girls who date frequently will show a higher association between attitudes toward female personality traits and feminine role behavior than girls who do not date frequently; (3) an increased number of dates is related to attitude consistency, primarily in the absence of a high number of college friends.
- (4) No prediction was made concerning parental contact and attitude consistency, since two opposing predictions were possible:
  - (a) If families are inconsistent in their role expectations for daughters, this would suggest "high parental contact" students would be less consistent in their attitudes than the "low contact" students.
  - (b) If any primary interaction with other people will result in greater attitude consistency, high parental contact would operate in the same fashion as a high number of friends or dates and increase attitude consistency.

e) Findings

Using Q as the measure of association:

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported ( $Q = .59$ ), however there were a fairly large number of inconsistent cases.
- (2) The second hypothesis in null form was not rejected.
- (3) The third hypothesis was supported ( $Q = .14$  for girls reporting 0-2 friends; .49 for those reporting 3-4 friends; .75 for those reporting 5 or more friends.  $Q = .39$  for girls reporting 2 or less dates per month; .68 for those reporting 3 or more dates per month. For those girls with a low number of friends,  $Q = .05$  for low daters, .59 for high daters; for those with a high number of friends,  $Q = .71$  for low daters, .77 for high daters.)
- (4)  $Q = .58$  for low parental contact, and .64 for high parental contact, indicating parental contact per se had no relationship to attitude consistency.
- (5) Parental contact was related to attitude consistency in the same way as dating behavior. Among girls with a high number of friends, the influence of parental contact was of no apparent significance ( $Q = .78$  for low parental contact girls, .75 for high parental contact girls). However, for girls reporting few college friends, those having high parental contact showed greater consistency between the two attitudes ( $Q = .54$ ) than girls with low parental contact.





Kosa, John, Rachiele, Leo D., and Schommer, Cyril O., "Marriage, career and religiousness among Catholic college girls," Marriage and Family Living, 24 (November, 1962), pp. 376-380.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Catholic undergraduate college.
- (2) Who: 178 female students in 2 classes.
- (3) How: Questionnaire and standardized tests.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Orientation toward marriage or career - single-item question.
- (2) Socioeconomic status - composite score based on father's education and occupation, and class identification of family.
- (3) Educational aspirations - involving graduate studies were classified as "high", otherwise as "low".
- (4) Religiousness - LeMoyne Religion Test.
- (5) Scholastic aptitude - Ohio State University Aptitude Test.
- (6) Privileged status - combined rankings on socioeconomic status and aptitude.
- (7) Projective proneness - scale developed which was assumed to correspond to a decreasing proneness to project total aspirations into the person of the husband.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Men and women students are equally likely to have high aspirations when they begin their academic career; but in realizing these aspirations the norms of our society prescribe a rather active role to the male, and a passive one to the female. Men are urged to "make good" and "be successful" in their work career, while women find themselves practically excluded from many positions of high income and prestige. Thus, the norms of our society teach females to pursue their goals of aspiration in a covert way and project their aspirations into the person of the husband.
- (2) The marriage-oriented girl is more likely to project her aspirations into the person of the husband and expect that her total aspirations will be satisfied by the success of the husband. The career-oriented girl, on the other hand, is less likely to resort to such a projection and, accordingly, endeavors to realize her aspirations through her own work.
- (3) Girls with low educational goals are more likely than girls with high educational goals to leave the realization of the aspirations up to the husband.

d) Hypothesis

Among college girls, non-Catholic religion, less religiousness, high socioeconomic status, high educational aspirations, and high scholastic aptitude tend to be associated with an orientation toward career; while Catholic religion, high religiousness, low socioeconomic status, relatively low educational aspirations, and relatively low scholastic aptitude with an orientation toward marriage.



e) Findings

Using Chi-square as the test of significance:

- (1) There was a tendency (non-significant) for marriage orientation in future plans to be related to four factors: relatively low socioeconomic status, scholastic aptitude, and educational aspirations, and high religiousness.
- (2) These 4 factors were not independent. Religiousness affected marriage orientation among subjects of low socioeconomic status, low scholastic scores, and low educational aspirations, but did not affect it in the rest of the sample.
- (3) When the subjects were classified by privileged status, the proportion of marriage-oriented girls was inversely related to privileged status (.05).
- (4) A proneness to project aspirations into the person of the husband was positively correlated with scores on the Religion Test (.01 by F ratio for regression).

Turner, Ralph H., "Some aspects of women's ambition," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (November, 1964), pp. 271-285.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Los Angeles.
- (2) Who: 1441 high school senior women; 1057 native white "Anglo" high school senior men.
- (3) How: Questionnaires administered in classrooms of 10 high schools selected to be socioeconomically representative of the central metropolis.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Ambition - indirect expedient of asking for acceptable minimums employed to avoid two problems of direct measurement: cultural sentiment of love supports a social norm opposing mate selection which is governed primarily by considerations of ambition; attitude that a woman should passively accept the station in life her husband brings her rather than actively striving for a given station as a man is urged to do. This technique used to measure:
  - (a) Educational ambition - for self (both sexes); and, for woman, of future husband.
  - (b) Level of material aspiration.
  - (c) Occupation of the husband - as a minimum and as an ideal.
  - (d) Eminence ambition - concern for standing and accomplishment within the occupational category, as an alternative to striving for identification with a high-ranking occupation or class.
- (2) Career goal - female respondents asked whether they expected to have a life-time career, be a homemaker, or both have a career and be a homemaker.





c) Assumptions

- (1) Although there is consistent evidence that the ambition of women in the socioeconomic realm (education and career) is lower than that of men, this may be due to the fact that:
  - (a) women aspire less highly in the socioeconomic realm than men,
  - (b) their lower scores on conventional indicators reflect somewhat different emphases in their ambition or the use of different means in the pursuit of similar goals.
- (2) Educational ambition can be viewed in two ways for men, three for women:
  - (a) as a goal desired for itself and for the achievement of a "cultured" style of life (for both sexes)
  - (b) as a means toward high occupational and material status:
    - the means to their own occupations (for men and some women)
    - (c) --the means to securing husbands through whom to realize their other ambitions (for some women).
- (3) Many women may have no career ambitions for self, while others may have pseudo-career or secondary career objectives. It may imply a supplementary rather than essential income, and be a serious diversion or a way of remaining alert and useful rather than the major determinant of either the woman's socioeconomic station or her style of life. Occupation is the American male's key status but her own occupation is not usually the key status for a woman.
- (4) If the key status for most women lies in the husband's occupation, the core of women's ambition may be sought by examining the qualifications they seek in their husbands. These ambitions will be stifled to varying degrees by the pattern of romantic love in courtship and the attitude that a woman should passively accept the station in life her husband brings her rather than actively striving for a given station as a man is urged to do.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) Seven measures of ambition were intercorrelated using the Spearman rank-order coefficient: material, minimum husband occupation, minimum husband education, own education, own career, preferred husband occupation, eminence. Separate matrices were presented for women choosing to have careers, women choosing not to have careers, and men. Columns and rows in the matrices were rearranged in search for a pattern.
  - (a) The eminence measure did not correlate to an appreciable degree with any of the other measures for females.
  - (b) For women planning to have careers material ambition was near one pole and the specific choice of career near the other.
  - (c) For women not planning to have careers, the best-fitting pattern maintained the same ordering. Preferred husband





occupation remained outside the main pattern but was substantially more highly correlated with the other measures (.27 to .42) than it was among the career-choosers (.08 to .22), suggesting that more of what a girl values may be vested in her ideal husband occupation when she herself does not elect to have a career.

- (d) The various forms of ambition had much more in common for men, as demonstrated by generally higher correlations. The most crucial difference occurred in the correlations between education and material ambition. For women, education was not an important instrumentality in securing an expected material level of living ( $Rho = .17$ ); for men there was a substantial relationship ( $Rho = .48$ ).
  - (e) The order of the arrangement of variables for men corresponded with the order for women; the position in the arrangement which was occupied by the woman's career ambition was filled by eminence ambition for men.
- (2) In answer to the question concerning career goal, 3.6% chose lifetime career, 48.4% homemaker, and 47.9% both.
- (3) To answer the question of whether the girl's decision to seek a career reflects aspiration to higher social station or socioeconomic status than the choice of homemaking alone (i.e., that most working wives have no strong internal commitment to work but work mainly in order to earn money they don't absolutely need), three measures were employed all suggesting an answer in the negative:
- (a) Chi-squares based upon cross-tabulation with the three career-homemaker categories showed a highly significant association (.001) of career only with high educational ambition, but no relationship with material ambition.
  - (b) Chi-square indicated a highly significant (.001) relationship between the material-education polarization index and career choice. Women who wanted a career were likely to stress educational ambition more than material ambition; women who wanted only to be homemakers were likely to stress material ambition more than educational ambition.
  - (c) If the prospect of a double income was important in deciding to have both career and homemaker roles, the girls who chose both should report higher material ambitions than girls who name similar minimum husband occupations but chose only the homemaker role. This was not the case; the data showed an opposite trend.
- (4) Thirty-seven value items included in the questionnaire suggest there are differences in both goal and means that set the career girl apart. The career girls placed the "cultured" way of life higher in their value hierarchy. The means they favor for the pursuit of their goals was not clear, but they did not distinctly employ the values



of individuality, self-reliance, and moral opportunism, as the ambitious women seem to do.

- (5) Of the 52% of girls who expressed career ambitions, nearly 14% were unable to name a specific occupation, versus 1% for men.

b. Mate Selection

Kerkhoff, Alan C. and Davis, Keith E., "Value concensus and need complementarity in mate selection," American Sociological Review, 27 (June, 1962), pp. 295-303.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Duke University.
- (2) Who: 94 couples: college women who were engaged, pinned, or seriously attached and their fiances or boy-friends.
- (3) How: Self-selected sample; 2 questionnaires at 7-month interval.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Progress toward a permanent union - dichotomized on basis of responses to a single question into those who were closer to being a permanent couple at the end of 7 months versus those who were the same or farther away.
- (2) Value concensus - Bernard Farber's "index of concensus".
- (3) Need complementarity - William Schutz's FIRO-B scales.
- (4) Length of association - dichotomized into "long-term" (those couples who had gone together 18 months or more), and "short-term" (less than 18 months).
- (5) Role tension - second half of Farber's "Index of Marital Integration".

c) Assumptions

Individuals who are similar to each other are most likely to choose each other as mates and are most likely to be successful in the relationship, i.e., there is a tendency toward homogamy in mate selection.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Degree of value concensus is positively related to progress toward a permanent union.
- (2) Degree of need complementarity is positively related to progress toward a permanent union.

e) Findings

Using differences in proportions, 1-tail test of significance:

- (1) When the simple relationships were tested, only that between value concensus and progress in the relationship was significant (.01). Two of the measures of complementarity (inclusion and control) approached significance (.10) and the 3rd relationship (affection) was in expected direction.





- (2) Introduction of the control variable, short-term vs. long-term couples, pointed up a difference in pattern with value consensus being related to progress for the short-term couples (.01) and 2 of the 3 measures of complementarity being related to progress for the long-term couples (inclusion .02; control .05).
- (3) Short-term couples had a much lower score than long-term couples on the "index of role tension", i.e., were less likely to attribute negative personality traits to each other. There was a greater tendency for the person perception score of short-term couples to become more negative over the 7-month period when original scores were held constant. Interpreted as suggesting couples go through a period of idealization and perception distortion which may lead to a disillusionment or "reality shock" at a later date.

Snyder, Eloise C., "Attitudes: a study of homogamy and marital selectivity," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 26 (August, 1964), pp. 332-336.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Pennsylvania.
- (2) Who: 20 couples who had been classmates as sophomores in high school.
- (3) How: 40 sophomore students who had subsequently married a member of their class drawn from a population of 561 students from 13 rural high schools.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Attitudes - individual's responses to 14 areas of behavior, towards his peers, family, and community.
- (2) Degree of attitude similarity - if both marital partners approved of an item of behavior they were classified as "similar"; if one partner approved and the other either disapproved or was undecided, as "dissimilar".
- (3) Field of eligibles - all members of the sophomore class in which the couples were members.
- (4) Similarity - percentage of the class which fell outside of the attitude range of the marital couple was regarded as the "percentage of selectivity".

c) Assumptions

- (1) In the area of assortative mating (the study of who marries whom), there are two opposing hypotheses:
  - (a) homogamy, which postulates that like marry likes;
  - (b) heterogamy, which postulates that opposites marry each other.
- (2) Although attitudes have been repeatedly referred to in the literature as being homogamous, studies have tested couples after they had had extensive interaction with each other (i.e., were married or engaged) and the similarity of





attitudes thus may have been a result of this interaction and may not have been present initially.

- (3) The principle of significance must be taken into account, i.e., the significance of finding mate homogamy or heterogamy is dependent upon the number and variety of choices which people had in selecting their mates.
- (4) For each person, every other person of the opposite sex is a potential marriage partner. However, such an assumption must take into account the considerable effects which culture has upon the choice of a mate, both in terms of social and physical distance.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) Degree of attitude similarity shared by partners was low; slightly over 50% in attitudes toward 14 areas of behavior, peers, and family; 40% similar in attitudes toward community.
- (2) While 38% of the homogamous attitudes were due to chance selectivity, 32% were unique to the couples (very or rather selective), and 30% were the result of the greater incidence in the field. Homogamous attitudes pertaining to the family showed the least selectivity and those pertaining to the community the most.

Snyder, Eloise C., "Marital selectivity in self-adjustment, social adjustment, and I.Q.," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (May, 1966), pp. 188-189.

a) Sample

As above.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Field of marital eligibles - subject's classmates.
- (2) Positive selectivity - couple shared a trait combination which excluded all or most of their field of eligibles.
- (3) Negative selectivity - couple shared a trait combination which included all or most of their field of eligibles.

c) Assumptions

As above.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) On self-adjustment, positively selective couples represented 65%; on social-adjustment 55%; and on total adjustment 65%. Negative selectivity ran 20%, 25%, 20%; chance selectivity, 15%, 20%, 15%. This suggests that in regard to adjustment, couples who ultimately married showed a positive selectivity prior to interacting seriously with each other.
- (2) Married couples tended to have higher adjustment scores than the other members of their classes. Although females tended



to score higher than males in most categories, among the married pairs, the females not only scored higher than the males but tended to reflect the highest adjustment averages in their classes as a whole.

- (3) In regard to I.Q., 65% of the couples were positively selective, 14% negatively selective, and 21% showed chance selectivity. Although the I.Q. scores were similar among persons contained within the field of marital eligibles, those persons who ultimately selected each other for marriage established an I.Q. range which excluded the majority of their fields of marital eligibles.

## 2. The Marriage Role

### a. Conflict and Adjustment, Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction

Axelson, Leland J., "Personal adjustment in the postparental period," Marriage and Family Living, 22 (February, 1960), pp. 66-68.

#### a) Sample

- (1) Where: two medium-sized communities in Washington and Idaho.
- (2) Who: 199 fathers and 265 mothers who had a child under 25 years of age marry between May 1, 1956, and April 30, 1958.
- (3) How: Wedding licence applications provided a total useable population of 390 fathers and 461 mothers. Mailed questionnaires provided useable responses representing a 51% return for fathers and 58% for mothers.

#### b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Postparental period - respondents divided into a quasi-postparental group (still having one or more single children under 18 remaining at home) and a true postparental group.
- (2) Life satisfaction - measured in terms of 7 basic life areas: family income, house and furniture, recreation, relationships to children, relationships to spouse, daily work, and the community as a place to live.

#### c) Assumptions

- (1) Mothers face severe adjustment problems due to the void in their daily interpersonal relationships which results from the physical departure of the children. Her source of stimulating experiences is further limited by a husband who devotes more time and energy to his occupation.
- (2) Fathers in the postparental period also go through a period of personal maladjustment, although less traumatic than that of the mothers. Men find their wives less attractive, fear loss of virility, and are depressed by mediocre occupational attainments.





- (3) The decreased interpersonal relationships and the increasing personal dissatisfaction which supposedly results during this period should be exhibited in dissatisfaction with daily living.

d) Hypotheses

None stated; nor was it stated whether a 1- or 2-tailed test of significance was employed. However, an implicit directional hypothesis seems indicated, of the form that: Parents in the true postparental group will exhibit greater dissatisfaction in the 7 basic life areas studied than will parents in the quasi-postparental group.

e) Findings

- (1) The hypothesis (as inferred) was rejected; differences in satisfaction between the 2 postparental groups were non-significant.
- (2) Longitudinal questions revealed a significant increase in satisfaction with the interpersonal and financial aspects of daily living. Financial worries had decreased significantly for mothers in the true postparental group (.01), and had begun to decrease for mothers in the quasi-postparental period. Women in both groups indicated important increases in satisfaction with their marital adjustment and the activities they share with their husbands (.01 in all 4 comparisons).
- (3) A significant increase in loneliness was recorded by the women in the true postparental period (37.6% reporting themselves as more lonely now vs. 2.2% reporting themselves less lonely). May be partly explained by a significant (.01) decrease in community activities reported (5.5% reporting more community activities now vs. 35.2% reporting less).

Hurvitz, Nathan, "The measurement of marital strain," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May, 1960), pp. 610-615.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Baldwin Hills area, a middle-class neighborhood in southwestern Los Angeles.
- (2) Who: 104 middle-class married couples. Mean age of husbands, 40; wives, 35; mean length of marriage to present spouse, 12.5 years.
- (3) How: Random sample; interviewed jointly in homes; questionnaires completed simultaneously but independently in presence of author.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Marital roles - a Marital Roles Inventory devised, which listed role-sets of both spouses for ranking of own performance, and of expectations for spouse.





- (2) Marital strain - difference between the rank order of the role-set of a husband or wife, ranked as performances by one spouse and as expectations by the other.
  - (3) Marital role deviation - measured by an index of deviation of performance; and an index of deviation of role expectations.
  - (4) Marital adjustment - Locke and Wallace Short Marital-Adjustment Test.
- c) Assumptions
- (1) An institution is an organization of roles.
  - (2) Within the family the roles of the husband-and-father and wife-and-mother are recurrent and regular units of conduct, oriented to the other of the pair.
  - (3) These roles have 2 aspects or valences: each spouse's performance of his own role-set and each spouse's expectation of how the other will perform his role-set.
- d) Hypotheses
- (1) Husbands and wives who indicate less strain in their relationship are happier in marriage than those who indicate more.
  - (2) Husbands and wives the rank order of whose role performances and expectations are similar indicate less strain in their relationship than husbands and wives who differ in the rank order of their role performances and expectations.
  - (3) Husbands and wives the rank order of whose role performances correspond with the modal rank order of role performances in their subculture indicate less strain in their relationship than husbands and wives the rank order of whose role performances do not correspond with the modal rank order of role performances in their subculture.
  - (4) Husbands and wives the rank order of whose role expectations of the other spouse correspond with the modal rank order of role expectations of the other spouse in their subculture indicate less strain in their relationship than husbands and wives the rank order of whose role expectations of the other spouse do not correspond with the modal rank order of expectations of the other spouse in their subculture.
- e) Findings
- Using  $r$  as the measure of association:
- (1) The first hypothesis was supported for husbands (.05) but not for wives.
  - (2) Hypotheses 2 and 3 were supported for both spouses.
  - (3) Hypothesis 4 was not supported for either spouse.



Luckey, Eleanore Braun, "Marital satisfaction and congruent self-spouse concepts," Social Forces, 39 (December, 1960), pp. 153-157.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: University of Minnesota.
- (2) Who: 41 satisfactorily married and 40 unsatisfactorily married couples. In averages, the sample consisted of men aged 31 and women 29 who had been married 7.7 years and had 2 children. Roughly 3/4 of all men and women were college graduates.
- (3) How: Selected from population of 594 former U. of Minnesota students (1948-50) who in 1953 indicated they were married. Successive sampling based on Locke and Terman items; Interpersonal Check List mailed at separate times to both spouses of couples in final sample.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Marital satisfaction - score placement on Locke's Modification of the Marital Adjustment Scale.
- (2) Congruity of self and spouse concepts - statements an individual makes about himself or his spouse as they are represented by items on the Interpersonal Check List.

c) Assumptions

If mutuality of perception is operative and important as a basis of interaction with other persons, the effects will be particularly evidenced in the marriage relationship, one of the most intimate and intense experienced by man. In marriages where congruence of perception is high, there is more appropriate response to the other, expectations of the other are more accurate, and each partner is better able to anticipate the other's feelings, and gear his own expectations to the other. Such a marriage will reflect a higher degree of satisfaction for both spouses.

d) Hypothesis

There is no difference in population means between two groups defined as satisfactorily and less satisfactorily married with regard to the degree of congruence between the concept each spouse holds of himself and the concept of him held by his marital partner.

e) Findings

- (1) When the mean difference of the discrepancy scores of the wives in the satisfactorily married couples were compared with those in the unsatisfactorily married couples on each of 4 scales, the null hypothesis was supported on 3 scales and rejected on one (.05). The null hypothesis was therefore not rejected, and it was concluded that the congruence of the husband's perception of his wife and the wife's perception of herself is not associated with satisfaction in marriage.
- (2) The trend for discrepancy scores of wives was, however, consistent, on each scale the mean discrepancies being greater in the group less satisfied with marriage.





- (3) When the wife's perception of her husband and the husband's perception of himself were compared, the null hypothesis was rejected on 3 scales (.05 or better) and supported on one. The trend on this scale was consistent; the mean discrepancy was greater for the unsatisfied group. The null hypothesis was rejected and it was concluded that the congruence of the wife's perception of her husband and his own self perception is significantly related to satisfactory marriages.

Buerkle, Jack V., Anderson, Theodore R., and Badgley, Robin F., "Altruism, role conflict, and marital adjustment: a factor analysis of marital interaction," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (February, 1961), pp. 20-26.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: New Haven area and New York City.
- (2) Who: 186 adjusted and 36 nonadjusted couples.
- (3) How: Adjusted couples were drawn from religion-affiliated couples' clubs in the greater New Haven area; unadjusted couples from the marriage counseling section, Margaret Sanger Research Bureau in New York City. Spouses tested simultaneously but apart.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Marital adjustment - persons claiming interactive difficulties were thought of as unadjusted; those not claiming difficulties as adjusted.
- (2) Altruism - measured by the Yale Marital Interaction Battery, a combined measure of sympathy and adaptability, i.e., the tendency to favor the other.

c) Assumptions

- (1) The concept of adjustment can be most fruitfully dealt with as a situation variable where the unit of adjustment is the interact between members of the dyad. (That is, the overall utility of conceptualizing sympathy and adaptability as general factors of the adjusted individual in marriage is questioned.)
- (2) According to this position, an "adjusted" interact can take one of two forms:
  - (a) where the interactants are engaging in mutual altruism, or
  - (b) where there is agreement on frame of reference and at least one member of the dyad responds to the other in an altruistic manner. This does not preclude a summation of interacts as a measure of adjustment but is offered as a more sensitive rationale.

d) Hypotheses

Altruism is a general factor associated with adjusted interaction. Specifically, there will be a general tendency for adjusted subjects to respond altruistically to conflicts of interests in





marriage as opposed to possible egoistic responses of unadjusted couples.

e) Findings

- (1) Two oblique rotated factor patterns were obtained, which indicated men and women did not organize the situations into the same manifest structures. A t test of the means for each group on all 4 factors indicated significant differences (.05).
- (2) Two pairs of factors were given parallel interpretations:
  - (a) Deference and respect for the personal feelings of the wife - each factor composed of 6 items, 4 of which were common to both. A high scoring husband was altruistic through deferring to the wife's feelings, whereas a high scoring wife did not expect her husband to defer. The pattern was thus one of mutual altruism. Adjusted couples were significantly more likely to respond altruistically to each other (.05).
  - (b) Social conformity to middle class reference groups outside the family - the husbands' factor was composed of 10 items, the wives' of 6, 5 being held in common. Adjusted husbands manifested higher scores, i.e., preferred conforming rather than normatively deviant solutions, more than did the unadjusted husbands (.05). Adjusted wives had the lower mean score (.05), i.e., manifested conformity by indicating they expected their husbands to conform to middle class norms. The conformity pattern thus overrode the tendency to be altruistic, but this was the only place where adjusted wives tended to be more egoistic than unadjusted wives.
- (3) Resistance of the husband to submitting to his wife's dominance over his personal activity - Husbands scoring high on this factor manifested low resistance to their domination by the wife. Mean scores for adjusted husbands were higher (.05) indicating their tendency to favor the other's solution.
- (4) Deference and respect for husband's judgment - the 6 items loading on this factor centered around acts where the efficacy of the husband's judgment was involved. The adjusted group had the higher mean score (.05) indicating adjusted wives were more prone to defer to and respect their husband's judgment.
- (5) One factor for both husbands and wives was not interpreted as no rational basis for their particular combination of items was discovered.
- (6) The hypothesis was rejected, since altruism was not a general factor and at least in terms of conformity to middle class reference groups had to be situationally interpreted.



Hurvitz, Nathan, "The components of marital roles," Sociology and Social Research, 45 (April, 1961), pp. 301-309.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Baldwin Hills area, a middle-class neighborhood in southwestern Los Angeles.
- (2) Who: 104 middle-class married couples. Mean age of husbands, 40; of wives, 35; mean length of marriage to present spouse, 12.5 years.
- (3) How: random sample; interviews carried out jointly; questionnaires answered simultaneously but independently.

b) Operational Definitions

Marital roles (components of the functional roles) - after completing a Marital Roles Inventory, subjects were asked to report what they believed were the most important role components, the usual functions or actions subsumed or implied by each role.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Each role subsumes a number of concrete and specific actions which are defined by the normative expectations of the members of the group as defined by its social traditions. These roles, which are organized into a role-set, become part of the individual's personality.
- (2) In the course of the process of socialization the individual absorbs, to a greater or lesser degree, the standards and ideals of his group so that they become effective motivating forces in his own conduct, independently of external sanctions.
- (3) Roles thus serve as norms that guide the individual in his relationships with others; however, because each individual's experiences are unique, he may define his roles' components differently and may have idiosyncratic norms of performed and expected behavior, thus creating a strain upon his role partner.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

Lists of roles as defined by respondents was provided.

Luckey, Eleanore Braun, "Perceptual congruence of self and family concepts as related to marital interaction," Sociometry, 24 (September, 1961), pp. 234-250.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: University of Minnesota.
- (2) Who: 41 satisfactorily and 40 less satisfactorily married couples of whom one of the spouses was a former student.
- (3) How: chosen by several phases of follow-up from original group of 594 former students.





b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Marital satisfaction - two samples designated as satisfactorily or unsatisfactorily married on the basis of highest and lowest couple scores on 23 items of the Locke and Terman marital scales.
- (2) Congruent perception of self and family concepts - the Interpersonal Check List was used to investigate 5 pairs of concepts: (a) self and self as marked by spouse, (b) self and ideal self, (c) self and parent of same sex, (d) spouse and parent of opposite sex, and (e) spouse and ideal self.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypothesis

The group of subjects scoring high in marital satisfaction would also be those holding reliably more congruent perceptions.

e) Findings

- (1) In all 40 comparisons made (5 pairs of concepts on 4 scales for men and women separately) less satisfied couples had greater discrepancy scores than did satisfied couples.
- (2) The relation of the perception of parents to marital satisfaction depended on the sex of the subject. Agreement of concepts of selves and mothers was not closely associated with marital satisfaction for women, but agreement of concepts of husbands and fathers was (.05 or better). Husbands were seen by satisfied wives to exceed their father in desirable characteristics (strong and warm). Men who were satisfied in marriage saw themselves as being like their fathers (.05 or better on 3 scales), but did not as strongly see their wives and mothers as being more alike (.05 or better on 2 scales). This was taken as indicative that, for both men and women, it is relatively more important for the maritally satisfied to find husbands and fathers similar, but less important for both sexes to find wives and mothers alike.
- (3) Satisfied subjects of both sexes saw loving qualities in both sexes; dissatisfied subjects of both sexes saw women as warm but men as cold.

Kotlar, Sally L., "Instrumental and expressive marital roles," Sociology and Social Research, 46 (January, 1962), pp. 186-194.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Los Angeles and suburban areas.
- (2) Who: 100 middle-class married couples: 50 adjusted and 50 unadjusted matched in terms of social class, education, age, number of years married, and religion. Average number of years married, 6; mean age of husbands, 30; mean number of children, 1.19; husbands averaged 2 years of college, wives, 1 1/3; average annual income \$7500.





- (3) How: Adjusted sample selected from 88 cases in terms of those scoring highest on the Wallace Adjustment Scale. These couples were members of young married-couples groups in Protestant churches chosen for their middle-class status. Unadjusted sample secured through marriage counselors.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Marital adjustment - two extremes chosen for comparison.
- (2) Instrumental and expressive role components - Interpersonal Check List.
- (3) Role perception and role expectation - assessed by ICL in terms of qualities or attitudes rather than as actions or performances. Each individual filled out 4 check lists in terms of: self as a husband (wife), mate as a husband (wife), his concept of the ideal husband, and his concept of the ideal wife.

c) Assumptions

The structural-functionalists posit that the division of labor which pertains in the American family is such that the husband is more specialized in the instrumental, i.e., meeting the adaptive requirements vis-a-vis the external environment, whereas the wife role is specialized more in the direction of the expressive-integrative aspects of the task-oriented group, the family.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) There is a difference between adjusted and unadjusted spouses in terms of self perception on instrumental and expressive role components.
- (2) There is a difference between adjusted and unadjusted spouses in terms of the conceptualization of the ideal husband and of the ideal wife roles on instrumental and expressive components.
- (3) There is a difference between adjusted and unadjusted spouses in terms of mate perceptions on instrumental and expressive role components.
- (4) The ideal marital role of the husband contains more instrumental role attitudes than does the ideal marital role for the wife.
- (5) The ideal marital role of the wife contains more expressive role attitudes than does the ideal marital role for the husband.
- (6) Where there is a reversal of role in terms of instrumental versus expressive role attitudes for the husband and wife, whether this is with respect to role perception or role expectations, it is indicative of marital maladjustment.

e) Findings

Using the t test for significance (1- or 2-tailed not stated):

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported for expressive (.05), but not for instrumental role components.
- (2) The second hypothesis was rejected.
- (3) The third hypothesis was supported for expressive (.05), but not for instrumental, role components.



- (4) Hypotheses 4 and 5 were supported; six of the 8 statistics were significant beyond the .01 level, and the other 2 were in the hypothesized direction.
- (5) Hypothesis 6 was accepted for expressive role attitudes, but not for instrumental qualities. The husbands perceived themselves as higher (.05) than their wives on instrumental qualities. The adjusted wives perceived themselves as higher (.05) than their husbands on expressive role qualities. The self perceptions and mate perceptions of unadjusted wives were lower than even the perceptions of adjusted husbands on expressive components, even though their own expectations were in terms of the feminine role having a higher amount of expressive qualities than the masculine role.

Nye, F. Ivan, "Marital interaction," in Nye, F. Ivan, and Hoffman, Lois Wladis (Eds.), The Employed Mother in America, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963, pp. 263-281, revision of "Employment status of mothers and marital conflict, permanence, and happiness," Social Problems, 6 (Winter, 1958-1959), pp. 260-267, section from F. Ivan Nye and Evelyn MacDougall, "The dependent variable in marital research," Pacific Sociological Review, 2 (Fall, 1959), pp. 67-70, and F. Ivan Nye, "Maternal employment and marital interaction: some contingent conditions," Social Forces, 40 (December, 1961), pp. 113-119.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: 3 small cities in Washington.
- (2) Who: 599 mothers from non-farm Caucasian families including father and mother (or step-parent) having at least one child in either grades 1 or 10; 400 not employed, and 199 employed full-time.
- (3) How: School records; mailed questionnaires (78% return rate); variables controlled by random subsampling were preschool children (1 or more present in home), large family (4 or more children), upper status, low education, remarriage.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment - full-time employed vs. not employed.
- (2) Marital conflict - Guttman scale.
- (3) Permanence of the marriage - living apart after a quarrel, or whether or not the respondent had ever considered divorce.
- (4) Happiness of marriage - single-item question.
- (5) Satisfaction with marriage - 5 categories of satisfaction-dissatisfaction.
- (6) Marital adjustment - 9-item Guttman scale.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Conflict is more frequent among couples in which the mother





is employed full-time than among those in which she is not employed.

- (2) Separations and divorce are more characteristic of couples in which the mother is employed.
- (3) Marital happiness and satisfaction are greater among full-time employed mothers than among mothers not employed.

e) Findings

With neither test nor level of significance reported:

- (1) Hypothesis 1 reported as supported.
- (2) Data reported as consistent with Hypothesis 2.
- (3) Hypothesis 3 reported as not supported; differences in opposite direction.

Nye, F. Ivan, "Personal satisfactions," in ibid., pp. 320-330.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: 3 small cities in Washington.
- (2) Who: 1991 active family stage mothers, and 265 post-parental period mothers.
- (3) How: Active family stage mothers obtained from school records; mailed questionnaire (78% return rate).

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment - full-time, part-time, or not employed.
- (2) Parental period - active family stage - mothers having at least one child in either grades 1 or 10; post-parental period - mothers who had a child who had married within the past 2 years.
- (3) Satisfaction - 5 response categories of satisfaction-dissatisfaction in areas of family income, house and furniture, recreation (including visiting), relationships to children, relationship to husband, community as a place in which to live, daily work.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

With neither statistical test nor level of significance stated:

- (1) For active family stage mothers:
  - (a) Mothers employed part-time most satisfied with community; nonemployed mothers least.
  - (b) A single item, relationship to husband, revealed no differences in satisfaction between employed and non-employed mothers. A Guttman-type marital adjustment scale indicated better adjustment for nonemployed.
  - (c) Single item dealing with satisfaction and children revealed no differences between employed and nonemployed. Two significant items and a majority of nonsignificant items from a quasi-scale favored the employed mother.





When the test variable of family size was introduced, the association became statistically significant within the small family subsample.

- (d) No significant differences were found among employment categories with respect to satisfaction with family income, house and furniture, or recreational life.
  - (e) The association between employment and satisfaction total scores was significant, favoring the employed, particularly those employed part-time.
  - (f) Utilizing family size as a test variable, it was found that employed mothers were generally better satisfied whether the family was large or not.
  - (g) Employed mothers with college educations showed a smaller proportion in the dissatisfied and a larger proportion in the highly satisfied. Data on high-school-educated mothers suggested employment related to intermediate satisfactions rather than polarities.
- (2) For mothers in the post-parental period it was anticipated that they would require other significant roles from which to obtain social status and a sense of personal worth. The data directly contradicted this hypothesis, the non-employed being generally more satisfied (on 6 out of 7 comparisons).

Powell, Kathryn S., "Family variables," in ibid., pp. 231-240.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Tallahassee, Florida.
- (2) Who: 130 white, American-born, urban, middle-class mothers of intact families. Included were 42 whose oldest children were of preschool age (12 employed and 30 nonemployed), 41 whose oldest were of elementary school age (14 employed and 27 non-employed), and 47 whose oldest were adolescents (18 employed and 29 nonemployed).
- (3) How: Questionnaires mailed to all mothers of students in some classes; a random sample of mothers in others.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Socioeconomic status - short form of McGuire-White Index of Social Status.
- (2) Maternal employment - classified as employed or nonemployed by present employment status (employed if working 16 hours or more per week outside the home).
- (3) Stage in the family life cycle - 3 stages by whether oldest child was of preschool age, elementary school age, or adolescent age.
- (4) Marital adjustment - Marital Adjustment Test devised by Locke and Wallace.
- (5) Rejection of homemaking role - subscale from Parent Attitude Research Instrument containing items designed to measure



dissatisfaction with the duties of caring for home and children.

- (6) Performance of household activities by family members - the number of home activities performed by the father, mother, children, maid, and other adults.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

With neither test nor level of significance reported:

- (1) There were no significant relationships between marital adjustment and employment status for mothers whose oldest child was of preschool or elementary school age; employed mothers whose oldest child was an adolescent reflected poorer marital adjustment than nonemployed mothers.
- (2) No significant relationship between maternal employment and the mothers' rejection of the homemaking role was found at any of the 3 stages of the family life cycle studied.
- (3) In families where the oldest child was of preschool age, the families of full-time homemakers had fewer activities performed by maids or other adults than did families of employed mothers. The same relationship held in families where the oldest child was of elementary school age.

Feld, Sheila, "Feelings of adjustment," in ibid., pp. 331-352.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: National sample.
- (2) Who: 438 white females who were currently married, had living children, and either worked full-time or were a full-time housewife.
- (3) How: Area probability sampling to constitute a representative cross-section of adults, 21 years of age or older, living in private households in the United States. Sample selected from population of 2460 interviews. Thus sample was not matched and working mothers tended to be middle-aged rather than very old or very young, not to have children of preschool age, to have higher family incomes, to be from families who were not recent immigrants to the United States, to be residing in nonrural areas, and to have smaller families.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment - full-time employed vs. full-time housewife at time of interview.
- (2) General feelings of distress or satisfaction - questions about worrying, unhappiness, future unhappiness, and nervous breakdown.
- (3) Attitudes toward the self - questions concerning lack of





uniqueness of self, lack of self-acceptance, shortcomings in the self, lack of strong points in the self.

- (4) Marital adjustment - questions concerning marital inadequacy, marital unhappiness, marriage problems.
- (5) Adjustment as a parent - questions concerning negative orientation to children, problems in raising children, inadequacy as parent, psychological anxiety, physical ill health, immobilization, physical anxiety; MacMillan's summary of symptoms.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypothesis

Comparisons between working and non-working mothers will be characterized by differences in the kinds of distress experienced rather than the over-all extent of distress experienced.

e) Findings

- (1) Of the 18 indices of felt distress analyzed, 4 were significantly correlated with employment status (.05). Employed mothers showed more self-acceptance (Tau =  $-.074$ ), better physical health ( $-.153$ ), and less physical anxiety ( $-.075$ ) than full-time housewives; in contrast, they reported more frequent doubts of their adequacy as mothers (.090). These differences remained when appropriate controls were utilized.
- (2) Four factor scores were derived measuring felt psychological disturbance, unhappiness, lack of identity, and social inadequacy. Only social inadequacy (feelings of shortcomings, marital inadequacy, and parental inadequacy) was significantly related to maternal employment status (Tau =  $.086$ ). The parental inadequacy index largely accounted for this relationship.
- (3) When respondents were trichotomized on educational level (grade school, high school, college), 12 of the 18 indices were correlated with education, as were the factors of felt psychological disturbance, unhappiness and social inadequacy. This was interpreted as indicative that a mother's educational level is a much more important determinant of her feelings of distress than her employment status.

Axelson, Leland J., "The marital adjustment and marital role definitions of husbands of working and nonworking wives," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (May, 1963), pp. 189-195.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: small western town of 6200 inhabitants.
- (2) Who: 122 husbands living with their wives; 37% had working wives.
- (3) How: Mail questionnaire (80% return); systematic area sample.





b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Marital adjustment - 6-item Guttman scale.
- (2) Perception of conditions under which a wife should work and the male role in this situation - multiple questions.
- (3) Perception of role modification as a threat - effect of wife's career on husband and children.
- (4) Wife's employment status - classified as not working, working part-time, or working full-time.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

Using Chi-square as the test of significance (whether 1- or 2-tailed not stated):

- (1) Husbands of working wives stated less often that the children should be finished with school before the mother works (.01).
- (2) Men whose wives worked tended to be more liberal with regard to the amount women should be paid for equal work and willingness to slacken control of the sexual aspect of marriage (n.s.).
- (3) Both groups of husbands agreed that the wife's employment would have a detrimental effect on the preschool child. With no reference to age, more of the husbands of nonworking wives believed maternal employment not good for children (.001).
- (4) Most husbands of nonworking wives agreed that a working wife would become too independent, 70% vs. 31% (.001).
- (5) Most husbands of nonworking wives thought a working wife would very likely neglect her husband, 68% vs. 22% (.001).
- (6) Husbands of nonworking wives less often said they would feel proud of a working wife who earned more than he (.01), and more often said they would feel inadequate in such a case (.05).
- (7) Approximately 60% of the husbands of nonworking and part-time working wives indicated good marital adjustment vs. 38% of the husbands of wives employed full-time (.10). This was the only instance in which husbands of wives who were employed part-time corresponded more closely to husbands of nonworking wives than to husbands of wives working full-time.
- (8) The relationship of poorer marital adjustment to the wife's employment status did not appear to be affected by original or remarriage status.
- (9) Blood and Wolfe's findings that differences in marital adjustment were relative to the wife's employment status and the annual income of the husband were not supported.



Stuckert, Robert P., "Role perception and marital satisfaction--a configurational approach," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (November, 1963), pp. 415-419.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Milwaukee.
- (2) Who: 50 native-born white couples, between the ages of 19 and 26, married 9 months or less and with no children.
- (3) How: Random sample from applicants for marriage licences during specified period (1 refusal).

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Role concepts and expectations - 30-question interview schedule, including 10 personality needs which respondents were asked to evaluate with respect to their importance to marriage in general, their importance in his own marriage, and their importance from the point of view of his spouse.
- (2) Marital satisfaction - Schedule 3 of the Burgess and Wallin marital adjustment questionnaire concerning the general marital satisfaction of the self and the self's conception of the mate's general satisfaction.
- (3) Marital types - set of factors used to identify a distinct type if over 80% of the cases included were similar with respect to the criterion of marital satisfaction.

c) Assumptions

- (1) The roles of husband and wife carry a complex pattern of expectations of the responses which are to come from the other. Adjustment to either role is influenced by the consistency with which the other responds by making the responses called for by the role pattern. Inconsistency in the responses of the other to the individual increases the insecurity of the person in either role since it makes him uncertain of the validity of his own role concept. This is particularly true when an individual first moves into a marital role.
- (2) Whether or not a marital partner responds consistently with the expectations of the other depends on his own preformed concept of his role, his own expectations regarding the reciprocal role of his spouse, his perception of his mate's expectations of him, and the degree of correspondence between the two sets of role concepts and expectations. If these role concepts are similar, communication is easier and the relationship existing between the marriage partners is more satisfactory to both. If role perception is accurate, each partner is better able to anticipate the other's feelings and gear his own responses to the expectations of the other.

d) Hypotheses

Marital satisfaction is a function of the mutual interaction of perceptual components. That is, marital adjustment is not a function of any single component of perception or even of several taken independently. The way in which any one of





these components is related to marital satisfaction may depend on the specific relationship of the others with this criterion.

e) Findings

- (1) Rankings of the 10 personality traits as to importance in own marriage were highly correlated for males and females ( $\rho = .75$ ). Husbands attributed greater importance to having a wife who appreciates his achievements and who stimulates his ambition. Wives gave greater weight to showing affection in marriage and receiving help in making decisions.
- (2) Three configurational types were identified for both husbands and wives. The patterns as revealed for husbands were: (a) shares a common view of marriage with wife; no relationship between the accuracy with which he perceives his wife's expectations and marital satisfaction; (b) accuracy of perception inversely related to marital satisfaction; dissatisfied; wife views marriage as typical, husband as different; (c) role expectations differ from wife's, but defines marriage as typical; generally satisfied but reports things do not run smoothly. The patterns as revealed for wives were: (a) the perceptive wife who sees husband's role expectations as he defines them himself; satisfied; (b) does not perceive husband's role expectations accurately, but role expectations are similar to his; satisfied; views marriage as typical; (c) has dissimilar views of marriage from her husband, and does not perceive husband's view of the marital roles accurately; dissatisfied.

Tharp, Roland G., "Dimensions of marriage roles," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (November, 1963), pp. 389-404.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: first contacted in New England area in 1935-39; at time of study lived in widely scattered parts of the United States and several foreign countries.
- (2) Who: 141 couples engaged in 1935-38, had subsequently married each other, had been married only to each other, and had remained married through 1955. Average length of marriage, 17 years; all had at least one living child; average age of men, 45; women, 43.
- (3) How: selected from 300 couples by marital and fertility criteria; questionnaire; factor analysis.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Marriage-role expectations - questions on importance of several items to the ideal marriage, and to respondent's marriage.
- (2) Marriage-role perceived enactments - questions as to how well spouse and self play several parts, about relative





influence in several areas, housework and physical maintenance of house and yard, and social activities.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Factors can be considered as dimensions of marriage roles, because they are stable ways of organizing a structure, and are amenable to measurement.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

Role dimensions were found to differ between the two sexes, as well as between role expectations and role enactments.

Kotlar, Sally L., "Middle-class marital role perceptions and marital adjustment," Sociology and Social Research, 49 (1965), pp. 283-293.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Los Angeles and suburban areas.
- (2) Who: 100 middle-class couples consisting of 50 adjusted and 50 unadjusted couples matched in terms of social class, education, age, number of years married, and religion. Average years married, 6; age of husbands, 30; wives, 28; number of children, 1.19.
- (3) How: Adjusted sample was selected from 88 couples who were members of young married-couples' groups of 10 Protestant churches; unadjusted sample secured through marriage counsellors.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Marital adjustment - two extreme groups; adjusted group chosen from those scoring highest on Wallace Marital Adjustment scale.
- (2) Self, mate and ideal marital role concepts - Interpersonal Check List.
- (3) Congruence of perception - discrepancy scores between self perception and mate perception on ICL.
- (4) Dominance - as assessed by the ICL refers to efficient, self-confident, responsible, competent, and independent role attitudes, and does not have the hostile connotation which would apply to the term "domineering".
- (5) Frustration of expectations - disparity between perception of spouse and conceptualization of the ideal spouse.

c) Assumptions

- (1) An individual's behavior is determined by the particular way in which he perceives himself, and by his attitudes toward himself. Few perceptions are made without some sort of context so that what is involved is a particular quality of perception of reality (interpreted in the context of interpersonal relationships).
- (2) The impressions an individual entertains of another's



personality, rather than that personality per se are important to their interpersonal relations. The ratings an individual makes of another furnish information about the rater and about the relations between them.

- (3) Ideal marital role concepts represent the cultural norm against which spouses are viewed as either acceptable or as unacceptable, with the consequent influence upon marital satisfaction. The implications are that individuals conceptualize conventional, optimistic, responsible, active, efficient, independent marital role attitudes as the basic middle-class values.
- (4) The integrative quality of a marriage is reflected in the degree of congruence between the way a spouse views himself as compared to the way he is seen by his partner.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

Using  $r$  as the test of association, and  $t$  as the test of significance:

- (1) Self perceptions. On the Dom dimension, self perceptions of husbands did not differ significantly; the wives in the adjusted group scored significantly higher than did the wives in the unadjusted group (.05). On the Lov dimension the self perceptions of both husbands and wives in the adjusted group were significantly higher than those of the unadjusted group (.05 and .01 respectively).
- (2) Perceptions of mate. On the Dom dimension both wives and husbands in the adjusted group perceived their spouses as being significantly higher than in the unadjusted group (.01). On the Lov dimension both husbands and wives in the unadjusted group were perceived by their spouses as being significantly less affectionate than in the adjusted group (.01).
- (3) Comparison of spouse scores. In the unadjusted group on the Dom dimension, the scores of the husbands were significantly higher than the scores of the wives (.01). There was no significant difference between the mean scores of the adjusted husbands and wives on this dimension. On the Lov dimension, the wives of both groups scored significantly higher than husbands.
- (4) Congruency of perception. There was a greater discrepancy between husbands' self perception and their mates' perception of them in the unadjusted than in the adjusted group (.05). There was no significant difference between wives' self perception and their mates' perception of them in the two groups. There was a significant difference between the mean scores of the couples in the adjusted and unadjusted groups (.01).





Hurvitz, Nathan, "Control roles, marital strain, role deviation, and marital adjustment," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 27 (February, 1965), pp. 29-31.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: not stated.
- (2) Who: 104 middle class couples; mean age of husbands, 40; of wives, 35; mean length of marriage to present spouse, 12.5 years.
- (3) How: random sample (population not stated); method of data collection not stated.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Control roles - Control Roles Attitudes Scale which elicits attitudes related to the source and kind of control expressed by the spouses within the family.
- (2) Marital strain - difference between the rank order of the roles in the role-set of a husband or wife, ranked as performances by one spouse and as expectations by the other.
- (3) Role deviation - difference between the total sample's modal rank order of each role-set and the rank order assigned to the same role-set by each subject.
- (4) Marital adjustment - Wallace's modification of the scale developed by Burgess, Cottrell, and Locke.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Control roles may be authoritarian, conservative, and traditional, with authority lodged primarily in the husband and father and with concomitant attitudes of male superordination and female subordination; or they may be democratic, liberal, and companionship, with authority shared by both the husband and wife and with concomitant attitudes of equalitarian responsibility.
- (2) Marital strain is a conception of marital adjustment within the theoretical framework of role theory, based on the concept that the family as an institution is an organization of roles. Within the family, the roles of the husband-father and wife-mother are units of conduct which stand out as regularities by their recurrence and which form patterns of mutually oriented conduct. These roles, constituted in a role-set, have two aspects: each spouse's performance of the roles in his own role-set, and each spouse's expectation of how the other spouse will perform the roles in his role-set. This complementary and reciprocal relationship of role performances and role expectations makes up the social structure of the family. One aspect of marital adjustment therefore results from the compatibility between role performances and role expectations.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) There were no significant differences between husbands' and wives' scores for Control Roles or for Marital Adjustment.





However, the husbands had a significantly higher index of strain ( $t = .001$ ).

- (2) The correlations between scores of husbands and wives were .26 for Control Roles, .20 for Index of Strain, and .62 for Marital Adjustment (.05). Each indicates that the scores of one spouse appear to be like those of the other spouse.

Cutler, Beverly R. and Dyer, William G., "Initial adjustment processes in young married couples," Social Forces, 44 (December, 1965), pp. 195-201.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Brigham Young University.
- (2) Who: 60 young married couples where husband was under 23 and enrolled in University. 85% had been married less than 3 years; 55% had no children; 35% had one child; all members of Mormon church; 30% of wives had not attended college.
- (3) How: Pilot study of depth interviews with 10 couples, followed by questionnaire to a random sample of young married couples at the University; of the 75 couples in the sample, 15 were eliminated for various unstated reasons.

b) Operational Definitions

Marital adjustment - a questionnaire constructed to determine role expectations, response to expectation violations, and subsequent reaction to initial response. Responses classified as adjustive or non-adjustive, shared or non-shared, and as positive or negative.

c) Assumptions

From the point of view of role behavior, when conflict in marriage occurs because one person has violated the expectations of his spouse, the possible adjustments are:

- (1) The husband (or wife) can change his role performance completely to meet the role expectations of his partner.
- (2) The husband (or wife) can change his role expectations, completely, to coincide with the role performance of the partner.
- (3) There can be a mutual adjustment, each partner altering some. The husband (or wife) can alter his role to a degree and the partner alters his role expectations to a similar degree so that role performance and role expectations are compatible. In each of the above cases the end result is an agreement between role performance and role expectations.
- (4) In some cases the couple might recognize a disparity between role performance and role expectations or between norms and also acknowledge that change is difficult or impossible and could "agree to disagree".

d) Hypotheses

None stated.



e) Findings

- (1) The most prevalent strategy adopted by husbands, as perceived by themselves, when they felt their wives had violated their expectations, was a non-action response, followed by shared adjustive-type responses, and non-shared adjustive responses.
  - (a) The non-action strategy was most apparent in the area of frequency of sexual intimacy, the area in which the greatest number of violations were reported.
  - (b) Verbal expressions of affection appeared to be the area most easily accepted by the husband without talking it over with his wife.
  - (c) Spending family income appeared to be the area most easily talked about openly and calmly.
  - (d) Least violations were reported in the area of spending time at home.
- (2) Consistently the pattern for the wives was one of more open sharing, contrasted to the non-action strategy of the husbands.
  - (a) As with husbands, the area of verbal expressions of affection was the area where more wives adjusted internally without talking about this with their spouses.
  - (b) Verbal expression of affection, and care of home, had the highest number of violations recorded.
  - (c) Fewest expressed violations of expectations occurred in the area of personal neatness and appearance, followed by spending family income.
  - (d) Biggest area of disparity was spending time at home, wives checking violations 6 times as often as husbands.
- (3) Both husbands and wives felt that the majority of their spouse's reactions to them were of an adjustive nature:
  - (a) Approximately 1/3 of the subsequent reactions were viewed as non-adjustive by both spouses.
  - (b) Although 44% of the husbands' and 31% of the wives' initial responses were non-active, there were few subsequent non-action reactions, indicating cues are given off even though he feels no response has been made.
  - (c) Nearly half of the non-adjustive responses for both husbands and wives came as a result of an initial shared adjustive reaction.
  - (d) Percentage-wise, the biggest number of nonadjustive responses came as a result of initial negative type reactions for both husbands and wives.





Schmitt, David R., "An attitudinal correlate of the status congruency of married women," Social Forces, 44 (December, 1965), pp. 190-195.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: St. Louis metropolitan area.
- (2) Who: 153 white, married women; roughly equal numbers of high and low status respondents; median age, 38.
- (3) How: socioeconomically stratified quota sample; questionnaires.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Status congruency - four status dimensions were chosen as prime components of a woman's general standing: respondent's education and ethnic background (excluding nonwhite backgrounds), and her husband's income and occupation. Status scales for these dimensions were obtained from the respondents' evaluations of the general standing of various occupations, incomes, educational levels, and ethnic backgrounds. Due to the lack of variation in the estimation of ethnic background and its comparative unimportance when compared to other dimensions, it was not used in constructing the congruency measure. Two kinds of congruency measures were constructed: (a) respondent's average congruency on the 3 dimensions, based on the respondent's congruency on each of the dimensions weighted by the dimension's relative importance; (b) respondent's congruency on pairs of characteristics, categorized with regard to the direction of the difference.
- (2) Liberalism-conservatism - responses to a series of attitude statements dealing with debated areas for which government or private enterprise may assume primary responsibility. Items were factor analyzed to obtain attitude scores.
- (3) Social status - respondents' average standing on her education, and husband's income and occupation, weighted according to their perceived importance.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Persons with a low degree of status crystallization (congruency) are more likely to be subjected to disturbing experiences in the interaction process and have greater difficulty in establishing rewarding patterns of social interaction than others.
- (2) Variables associated with incongruency including psychosomatic illness, withdrawal, and desire for social change can be viewed as reactions to these disturbing experiences.
- (3) Congruency will relate to an attitudinal measure of change preference (the desire for political change).
- (4) Social status must be controlled. The demonstrated correlation between status indices and political ideology may make the above relationship a spurious one if congruency and social status are related.

d) Hypotheses

Political liberalism will be associated with status incongruency;





conservatism with status congruency.

e) Findings

The hypothesis was supported:

- (1) With status controlled, the respondent's average congruency was significantly related to liberalism-conservatism ( $r = -.23$ ). Women with incongruent statuses tended to be more liberal than those whose statuses were congruent.
- (2) Two measures of the respondent's congruency between characteristics were significantly related to political attitudes. Women tended to be more liberal if their educational status was less than their occupational or economic standing ( $t, .05$ ).

Pickford, John H., Signori, Edro I., and Rempel, Henry, "Similar or related personality traits as a factor in marital happiness," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (May, 1966), pp. 190-192.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Lower Mainland, Province of British Columbia.
- (2) Who: 3 groups of 35 married couples each: Group A, happily married; Group B, having trouble; and Group C, on the verge of separation. Couples ranged in age from 23 to 30 years; had been married from 3 to 7 years; had at least one child. Sample taken from 3 socioeconomic levels: 9 in each group earning over \$4500; 18 between \$2500 and \$4500; and 8 less than \$2500.
- (3) How: selective sampling; tests administered by appointment to one couple at a time; simultaneously but independently.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Marital happiness - happily married group selected from churchgoing young married couples on basis of agreement between self-rating on Burgess-Wallin General Satisfaction Schedule and rating by friends or close relatives; couples in the having trouble and on the verge of separation groups selected by canvassing marriage counselors, ministers, lawyers, and social workers.
- (2) Personality traits - Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Similar or related personality traits as measured by the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey are significantly related to marital happiness.
- (2) Dissimilar or unrelated personality traits are significantly related to marital unhappiness.

e) Findings

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported. The traits of general activity, restraint, friendliness, and personal relations



showed a significant (.05) positive correlation for the happily married group ( $r = .45, .35, .41$  and  $.50$  respectively). The other 6 traits were in the expected direction but not significant, correlations ranging from  $.07$  to  $.28$ .

- (2) The second hypothesis received some support. For the having trouble group the traits of emotional stability and objectivity were significant (.05), yielding correlations of  $-.33$  and  $-.43$  respectively; 5 of the remaining traits were in the predicted direction, and 3 were not. For the on the verge of separation group, only one trait was significant (.05), emotional stability ( $r = -.41$ ); 7 of the remaining traits were in the predicted direction, and 2 were not.

Pickford, John H., Signori, Edro I., and Rempel, Henry, "The intensity of personality traits in relation to marital happiness," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (November, 1966), pp. 458-459.

a) Sample

As above.

b) Operational Definitions

As above.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) Differences between mean scores were compared by means of the  $t$  test for males in Groups A, B, and C; for females in the same groups; and between males and females within the same group. Of the 90 tests thus performed, 6 were significant at the  $.01$  level, 3 at the  $.05$  level, i.e., were within the level of chance expectations.
- (2) When the direction of the mean differences was considered, using  $t = 1$  as an arbitrary cut-off point, and comparing males and females in the same group:
  - (a) In the happily married group higher scores of males in masculinity and ascendancy were counterbalanced by higher scores of females in friendliness.
  - (b) In the having trouble group higher scores of males in masculinity, ascendancy, and general activity were counterbalanced by higher scores of females in friendliness and sociability.
  - (c) In the group which was on the verge of separation, males scored higher than females in masculinity, ascendancy, general activity, emotional stability, and objectivity. There were no favorable counterbalancing traits in females.





b. Power and the Division of Labor

Blood, Robert O., Jr., and Wolfe, Donald M., Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living, New York: The Free Press, 1960.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Detroit metropolitan area and southeastern Michigan.
- (2) Who: 731 urban and suburban wives; 178 farm wives.
- (3) How: representative sample; structured interview.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Power - score based on who was reported to make the final decision in 8 areas: husband's job, car, life insurance, vacation, house or apartment, wife's job, doctor, and food expenditures.
- (2) Social status - index based on husband's occupation, income, education, and ethnic background.
- (3) Stage in family life cycle - categorized in terms of child-rearing stages (preschool, preadolescent, adolescent, and unlaunched), childless stages (honeymoon, postparental, retired), and childless couples.
- (4) Division of labor - index based on performance of 8 tasks: repairing things around house, mowing lawn, shovelling sidewalk, keeping track of money and bills, grocery shopping, getting husband's breakfast on work days, straightening up living room when company is coming, and doing evening dishes.
- (5) Adherence to traditional sex roles (role stereotypy) - degree to which husband does the repairs, mowing and shovelling; to which wife is responsible for groceries, breakfast, living room, and dishes.
- (6) Relative task participation - amount of work done by each partner; equivalent to balance of power in decision making.
- (7) Role specialization - number of tasks performed exclusively by one partner, but not necessarily by the traditional partner; refers to role differentiation rather than to conformity to conventional patterns.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Power may be defined as the potential ability of one partner to influence the other's behavior. Power is manifested in the ability to make decisions affecting the life of the family. It refers to the way in which husbands and wives actually deal with each other.
- (2) Authority is legitimate power, i.e., power held by one partner because both partners feel it is proper for him to do so. The family authority pattern is prescribed by the society at large.
- (3) The sources of power in so intimate a relationship as marriage must be sought in the comparative resources which the husband and wife bring to the marriage. A resource





may be defined as anything that one partner may make available to the other, helping the latter satisfy his needs or attain his goals. The balance of power will be on the side of that partner who contributes the greater resources to the marriage.

- (4) If authority patterns and personal resources both influence the balance of power, two theories pertain as to their relative importance: (a) families do what the culture tells them to do; (b) they do what their own characteristics dictate. In a stable society the 2 sources of power will coincide; American society, however, is not stable.
- (5) As long as the option is equally available to either partner, the work is usually done along traditional lines. But if circumstances prevent the customary performer from doing his duty, the principle of comparative availability will pertain. Tasks will be reallocated in the direction of the more available partner.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) The more successful the husband is in the eyes of the community, the more dominant his part in marital decision-making.
- (2) The higher the husband's social status, the greater his power.
- (3) The more the conventional division of labor is disrupted, the more tasks must be reallocated; and tasks are reassigned to the other partner in proportion to the amount of time he has available.

e) Findings

- (1) Two decisions were primarily the husband's, his job and the car; 2 the wife's, her work and the food; others were joint in the sense that "same" was the modal category.
- (2) Farm families, immigrant families, old couples, uneducated couples, and Catholic marriages were not found to be more patriarchal in nature.
- (3) The first hypothesis was supported. (a) Husbands in white collar occupations received higher power scores than husbands in blue collar occupations. (b) Husbands' mean power scores increased steadily as a function of his income. However, this relationship held only when the wife was not employed.
- (4) The findings with respect to Hypothesis 2 are unclear. Two sets of figures are given, one showing a direct relationship between socioeconomic status and power (p. 32), the other a curvilinear relationship (p. 33). This increased power of high-status husbands resulted from 3 areas; whether to buy life insurance, what house or apartment to get, and whether the wife should go to work or quit work. In these areas it was not that more husbands made these decisions unilaterally, but that fewer wives did.
- (5) Where the majority of white families were equalitarian, the largest percentage of Negro families were wife-dominated.



The biggest difference occurred in the area of insurance, although more Negro wives also made every single one of the other decisions.

- (6) The more one partner's education exceeded the other, the higher his (her) power was found to be.
- (7) Activity in formal organizations was found to provide the wife with a resource analogous to the husband's success on the job. The partner who belonged to more types of organizations was found to take a more active part in family decision making.
- (8) Whichever partner works was found to gain power thereby. This held true not only for working versus non-working wives, but also reflected the number of hours the husband worked, with husbands who worked overtime having greater power than husbands who only worked a 40-hour week. Marital power reflected not only the current working relationship but the length of time the wife worked after marriage. The more years the wife had worked since marriage, the more power she had. This finding held at all status levels.
- (9) Husband's mean power was higher in the preschool than in the honeymoon stage, then progressively decreased through the retired stage of the family-life cycle. The wife was found to exert greater power throughout the deviant childless sequence.
- (10) Task performance was predominantly specialized along traditional sex lines, the extent of conformity being greater for males (90%) than for females (76%). Although only 6% of the families adhered completely to traditional sex lines, the median family had a stereotyped allocation of 6 of the 8 tasks.
- (11) Using husband's income and intergenerational mobility as measures of occupational preoccupation, wife's mean task performance was positively related to both measures.
- (12) Social status of husband was irregularly related to wife's mean task performance. Suggests the necessity of distinguishing between the high-status husband involved in occupational advancement, and the equally high-status man who is less occupationally preoccupied and hence available for tasks around home.
- (13) The third hypothesis was supported. Two-income families were more stereotyped in the masculine area and less so in the feminine area. In high income levels this resulted from the husband performing more of the traditional masculine tasks; in low income levels by an increase in husband's performance of both masculine and feminine tasks.
- (14) A possible negative claim on the third hypothesis was provided by the finding that the wife in both white and Negro wife-dominant families performed more household tasks than any other type of wife. Both dominance and task performance were inferred to reflect the same underlying cause: inadequacy of their husbands.





- (15) Role specialization was found to be least in the honeymoon stage, to increase during the childrearing stages, and subsequently to decrease slightly in the postparental and retired stages. The pattern for childless couples showed a curvilinear pattern, being higher in the stages corresponding to preschool and adolescent, and lowest in preadolescent. Wife's mean task performance tended to increase throughout the family-life cycle in all cases.

Michel, Andree, "Comparative data concerning the interaction in French and American families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 337-344.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Paris and Bordeaux, France.
- (2) Who: 550 French urban families living in Paris and Bordeaux.
- (3) How: random sample; interviews with wives; compared with data from Blood and Wolfe's sample in Detroit, ibid.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Husband's authority - score calculated from 10 questions, 5 of which were identical to the American ones.
- (2) Family life-cycle - categorized as in ibid.
- (3) Marital satisfaction - criteria used were relative to the satisfaction of the woman concerning the standard of life, love, agreement, understanding from the husband, and the leisure time shared with the husband.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) The preschool stage in the family life cycle was accompanied by an increase in the husband's authority in both the U.S. and France.
- (2) In both countries the change by occupational status of wife followed the same trend: the more often the woman worked outside the home, the more often the husband's authority was low.
- (3) For 4 categories of husband's education (primary, technical, secondary, college), there was a positive increase between successive levels of educational attainment and husband's authority. With respect to the wife's decision to work, the trend was the same as in the U.S.: husband's authority was low when the husband's education was low, reached its peak with a middle rank in education, and began to decrease with the highest levels of education.
- (4) Husband's authority was found to increase with broad occupational level in both countries. However, low white-collar workers, whose salaries and prestige are low in





- France, had no more authority than qualified workers.
- (5) The trend in France and the U.S. was similar: the higher the husband's income, the higher his authority in the family. This trend was supported in both countries by the finding that the higher the husband's income, the more often he had the preponderance in the wife's decision to take a job outside the home (Chi square, .02).
  - (6) 34.9% of housewives had the preponderance in the decision concerning their choice to get or not get a job, steadily increasing by salary for working wives, until all wives in the highest income bracket made this decision (Chi square, .001).
  - (7) The trend observed for education was the same in both countries: husband's authority was inversely related to wife's education when classified according to wife less, equally, more educated.
  - (8) Husband's authority was inversely related to the difference in income between spouses when classified according to wife's income higher, equal, less (Chi square, .05).
  - (9) Marital satisfaction was irregularly, and differentially, related to husband's income in the two countries.
  - (10) In both countries the higher the education of either spouse, the higher the wife's marital satisfaction. A curvilinear pattern emerged with relation to comparative educational levels: highest when spouses were equally educated, and decreasing when husband was more or less educated than wife. The decrease was greater when husband had less education than wife.
  - (11) In both countries there was a trend for the marital satisfaction of the wife to increase with husband's increased participation in household tasks. In France the relationship was linear; in the U.S. the linear relationship from 0-3 tasks shared had been followed by a sharp drop in level of satisfaction when 4 or more tasks were shared.
  - (12) In both countries the highest score of marital satisfaction was obtained when decisions were equally shared.

Safilios-Rothschild, Constantina, "A comparison of power structure and marital satisfaction in urban Greek and French families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 345-352.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Athens, Greece.
- (2) Who: 133 wives.
- (3) How: 250 couples randomly selected; in 133 cases only the wife was interviewed, in 117 cases only the husband; analysis limited to feminine respondents to facilitate comparison with French data reported in ibid.



b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Family power structure - score based on whose decision usually prevailed on 8 decisions, 5 of which were the same as in the French study.
- (2) Marital satisfaction - same questions as French study, ibid.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) In Greece, the husband's authority was found to be higher in the absence of children and lowered when children were born, a trend directly contrary to that found in France and the U.S.
- (2) In all 3 countries, a wife's employment was found to lower the degree of authority exercised by her husband. There was, however, a considerable discrepancy in the answers of Greek men and women, with the men reporting more authority than did the wives. The t test was significant (.05) for Greek women, but not for men.
- (3) In Greece, there was an inverse relationship between husband's education and authority, in contrast to the positive relationship found in France. Normative data indicated education freed men from the traditional ideology so they viewed their wives as equals, companions and friends, compared to less educated husbands who viewed their wives as merely housekeeper and mother, and as subordinate to him.
- (4) Owners of home industries and businesses (66% of whom had only elementary school education), and semiskilled and unskilled workers were found to be most domineering; professionals, administrators, managers, and civil servants in high positions least domineering. In contrast French data showed semiskilled and unskilled workers to be least domineering and authority of husbands to increase with degree of skill required and prestige attached to it.
- (5) Husband's level of salary could not be isolated when wife also employed. When wife not employed, husbands exerted a higher degree of authority when they earned very little than when they earned a high salary, but the relationship was not continuous.
- (6) In contrast to France, husband's authority in Greece was higher when his educational achievement equalled that of his wife; however, when spouses had an equal education their level of achievement was low (72% had finished 6-9 grades). His authority was lower when his wife had either more or less education than himself (Chi square, .01).
- (7) In both Greece and France, wife's satisfaction with marriage was greater when the husband was well educated.
- (8) While in France there was an almost linear relationship between degree of satisfaction and husband's salary, in Greece this held true only at the extremes of the continuum. Standard of living was not rated as very important for a





- good marital relationship for either Greek men or women.
- (9) Employed wives tended to be less satisfied in Greece as in France. However, further analysis revealed this to be related to only one index of marital satisfaction: that derived from standard of living. Leaving out this index, there was no difference between working and nonworking wives in degree of marital satisfaction.
  - (10) Two categories of Greek women were revealed to be satisfied with their marital relationship: 4% of the interviewed women with very dominant husbands, who constituted a small core group of traditional women of rural origin and low education married to husbands with similar backgrounds; 40% of all women who preponderated in familial decision-making. They usually either made or were consulted about the two predominantly joint decisions (number of children and relations with in-laws), but never competed with their husbands in the area of masculine decisions (choice of friends and use of leisure time). On the other hand, women in France and the U.S. were most satisfied when there was equality of decisions, a 50-50 balance of power.
  - (11) A hypothesis of erosion of marital satisfaction with time held true in Greece with the exception that after 3-9 years of marriage (when the presence of preschool children in the family increases), marital satisfaction was greatly diminished.

Buric, Olivera and Zecevic, Andjelka, "Family authority, marital satisfaction, and the social network in Yugoslavia," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 325-336.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Kragujevac, Central Serbia (Yugoslavia).
- (2) Who: 117 families of Serbian nationality.
- (3) How: random selection from a population of about 10,000 workers of a big car factory; interviews in home; identical questionnaires filled out by husbands and wives. Cross-national comparison of the data with similar investigations in Greece (Safilios-Rothschild, ibid.), France (Michel, op. cit.), and U.S. (Blood and Wolfe, op. cit.).

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Family authority structure - relative degree of participation by husband and wife in 7 family decisions. In none of the compared researches were all decisions alike. The present study had 5 decisions in common with the Greek, 4 with the French, and 2 with the American. Data from husbands used as a reliability check on data from wives.
- (2) Marital satisfaction - satisfaction score derived from responses to 7 questions; divergences between scores of husbands and wives were taken as a measure of family





disintegration (cannot be a measure of reliability since this is an emotional relationship, not an objective one).

- (3) Norm orientation towards family life - Likert-type scale of questions in an extremely traditional form.
- (4) Connection between family and social network - husband's position in the social system of functions (responsibility of duties), as well as general socio-professional characteristics of husband such as education, occupation, income.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Family authority and marital satisfaction differ significantly according to the following elements of the social structure:
  - (a) education of husband and wife
  - (b) qualifications and profession of husband
  - (c) working status of the wife
  - (d) income of husband
  - (e) urbanization of husband and wife
  - (f) activity of husband in responsible functions.
- (2) In the society as well as in the family group, there exist forces which function toward the integration of these two systems.
- (3) At the locale where the research was carried out, the family group lags behind the development of other social groups in the trend from traditionalism to a progressive ideology of equality and freedom of activity and decision. In such a situation, families whose members have more contact with the progressive forms of general social development will suffer important changes in respect of adoption of the egalitarian type of relations.
- (4) Two opposing assumptions exist regarding the relationship between husband's authority and activity in leading functions:
  - (a) Husbands who in their working group have leading and responsible duties will also try to transfer such an authoratative position into the family.
  - (b) In our social system a leading position requires the adoption of progressive social norms. Such an ideology is contrary to a family ideology based on the inequality of sexes and hierarchic domination in the system of family relationships. In order to uphold the unity of personality, family, and social system, the group of "husband-functionaries" will endeavor to transfer to the family the progressive normative conceptions on equality of human relations.
- (5) Similarly, for marital satisfaction:
  - (a) The wife may be dissatisfied when the husband is more active in his working group because he is then less active in the family.
  - (b) The wife may be more satisfied because the husband's responsible functions raise the family's prestige in society.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) The families in which the partners, particularly the



husbands, are better educated, have higher professions, bigger incomes, higher qualifications, longer urbanization, greater activity in the system of social functions, i.e., those who are on a higher level of the social stratification, will have more liberal family relations, a less dominant position of the husband, and more equalized inter-marital relations.

- (2) The degree of women's satisfaction in such marriages will be higher than in those in which the partners have a lower social status.

e) Findings

- (1) In all 4 countries the wife's employment weakened the traditional authority of the husband in the family (Yugoslavia Chi-square, .01). The problem was viewed as being: in what family decisions the wife gains in authority when she is employed and in what the husband loses most ground. In Yugoslavia employed wives achieved more authority than unemployed wives (in decreasing order of importance) in: making decisions about the purchase of furniture and other household objects, installment loans, own clothes, leisure time, and family planning. Only in the sphere of family budgeting did the unemployed wife have more authority than the employed.
- (2) In contrast to the American and French data, Yugoslav and Greek data indicated that as the husband's education, occupational standing, and income increased, his traditional family authority decreased, more substantially in Yugoslavia than in Greece. The assumption that education frees the man of his traditional ideology was confirmed by the finding that husband's education was correlated with the norms of family life he adhered to.
- (3) Relations between spouses were most egalitarian when there was no difference in education.
- (4) Husbands with lower functions had slightly higher authority scores than those with no functions. On the contrary those who carried out medium or more responsible functions, particularly those having higher education, had more egalitarian relations in their families.
- (5) On the whole, the women who were most dissatisfied with their marriages were those who were very dominant. Two categories were most satisfied: those who were not particularly dominant but showed some authority preponderance in relation to the husbands; and those who had no authority, having notably dominant husbands.
- (6) Satisfaction decreased with wife's employment in Yugoslavia, Greece, and France (no data available for the U.S. on this comparison). When family ideology was controlled, traditional wives were found to be more satisfied if they worked than if they did not work, whereas contemporary housewives were most satisfied (Chi square, .01).





- (7) With the increase of the husband's educational accomplishments, wife's satisfaction decreased, a finding opposed to those in Greece, France, and the U.S. A possible explanation might be the high rate of working wives in this group (72%).
- (8) Income was not consistently related to wives' marital satisfaction, in contrast to France where a linear relationship was found. Further analysis revealed income was not rated highly as a condition for a successful marriage.
- (9) Duration and degree of family's urbanization showed little relationship to wife's marital satisfaction. Most satisfied were wives in marriages where both spouses were recent city dwellers but where the husband had been urbanized longer. Wives who came to the city in the same period as their husbands showed less satisfaction, and still less if she had been urbanized longer than her husband.
- (10) Wife's marital satisfaction increased steadily with the husband's greater responsibility in his working group, from husband having no functions, through his having low to medium functions, then decreased for his having high functions. This decrease may have been explained by the large number of working wives in the group whose husbands had high functions (70%).

Heer, David M., "Husband and wife perceptions of family power structure," Marriage and Family Living, 24 (February, 1962), pp. 65-67.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Boston standard metropolitan statistical area.
- (2) Who: 138 Roman-Catholic families of Irish descent.  
Approximately 1/4 each were: working-class working-wife families, working-class families wife not working, middle-class working-wife families, middle-class families wife not working. All families had at least one child of elementary-school age and a father in the age range from 26 to 46 years.
- (3) How: selective sampling; joint interview with both spouses.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Perceptions of family power structure - answers of both spouses to question as to whom usually wins out when there is a disagreement on an important decision.
- (2) Extent of disagreement concerning power structure - classified as no disagreement, minor if one claimed one won out while the other claimed neither, major if each claimed the other usually won out.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.





e) Findings

- (1) Husbands and wives had substantial but not unanimous agreement concerning the power structure (2-tailed Chi-square, .08). Couples in the working-class working-wife group had more disagreement than couples in the other subgroups.
- (2) There was a relative tendency for each spouse to minimize his own influence in decision making (exception: middle class males). Husbands were more likely than wives to report wife having greater influence, wives to report each spouse having the same influence. The tendency to attribute greater influence to spouse was most pronounced in the working-class working-wife group (Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Signed-Ranks test, 2-tailed, .08) and least pronounced in the working-class housewife group.

Heer, David M., "Dominance and the working wife," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 251-262, adapted from Social Forces, 36 (May, 1958), pp. 341-347.

a) Sample

As above.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Middle vs. working class - husband's occupation.
- (2) Working-wife vs. nonworking-wife family - A working-wife family was defined as one where the wife was currently gainfully employed for at least 10 hours a week and either had worked for 2 years or planned to remain in the labor force for 2 years. A nonworking-wife family was defined as one where the wife had not been gainfully employed for at least 2 years prior to the interview.
- (3) Relative influence in family decision making - score derived from both spouses' responses to the question of who usually won out when there was a disagreement on an important decision.
- (4) Dominance in nonmarital roles - a set of 8 items concerning behavior in social situations, pretested, and validated.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) An increased influence of the working wife in family decision-making exists in both the middle and working class.
- (2) Since the earnings of the working-class wife would more nearly approximate those of her husband than those of the middle-class working wife, she would have more say in family decision-making than her middle-class counterpart.
- (3) The association of the increased influence of the working wife in family decision-making is a cause-and-effect relationship. To test this hypothesis a corollary hypothesis was set up for test purposes: any differences found between



working and nonworking wives in their relative degree of power in family decision-making could be explained entirely on the basis of personality differences between the two groups.

e) Findings

With 2-way analysis of variance employed as the test of significance, but neither df or level of significance stated:

- (1) The first and second hypotheses were supported. Both the wife's work status ( $F = 10.99$ ) and social class ( $F = 8.49$ ) were significantly related to family decision-making. The interaction was negligible ( $F = .03$ ).
- (2) The results of the 8-item Personality Test of Dominance in Nonmarital Roles yielded significant scores for husbands ( $F = 14.60$ ) and mean husband-wife difference scores ( $F = 4.05$ ), both occurring on the dimension of working class vs. middle class. In all 4 groups, husbands' mean dominance scores were higher than wives. Also, husbands of middle-class working wives scored higher than husbands of middle-class non-working wives.
- (3) Each of the 4 groups was subdivided on the basis of the husband-wife differences in general personality dominance, thus holding constant husband-wife difference scores. For both working and middle class, the differences in family decision-making dependent on the work status of the wife remained. Interactions were nonsignificant for both groups.
- (4) A comparison of the 4 major subgroups on various demographic variables revealed that the groups were comparable on all but one variable: number of children. The average number of children was higher in the middle-class families than for their working-class counterparts. Holding constant both social class and wife's work status, a statistically significant positive association between the influence of the father in family decision-making and number of children in the family was found.
- (5) The mean scores of the husband's relative influence in decision-making for each of the subgroups were recomputed after standardizing for number of children. The differences both by wife's work status and by social class remained, however the magnitude of the difference dependent on the wife's work status was reduced.

Hoffman, Lois Wladis, "Parental power relations and the division of household tasks," in ibid., pp. 215-230, reprinted from Marriage and Family Living, 22 (February, 1960), pp. 27-35.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Detroit, Michigan.
- (2) Who: 324 Caucasian intact families with at least one child in the 3rd through 6th grades, including 89 families with





working mothers and 89 matched families with non-working mothers.

- (3) How: 3 elementary schools chosen to be socioeconomically representative, but homogeneous with respect to ethnic factors, excluding Negroes and ethnic neighborhoods. Respondents matched on traditional sex role ideology, male dominance ideology, husband's occupation, number of children under 13, and age of oldest child. Extraneous factors removed were absence of a parent, rural and ethnic factors, stage in family life cycle, and families including persons not members of the conjugal family. Data gathered from paper and pencil interviews with children and mailed questionnaires to mothers.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Mother's employment - dichotomized into full- or part-time employment vs. nonemployed.
- (2) Power relationship - power was operationally defined as the extent to which one parent decides over the other parent's behavior more than the other decides over his behavior. This power relationship was inferred from child interview responses to 33 paired items, the child being asked in each case which family members "do" a particular routine household activity and which members "decide" about that activity. The pair of questions constituted the coding unit.
- (3) Task participation - each parent given a total score based on child's responses to the 33 "doing" questions. Subscores computed for mother's, father's, and common household areas, and child care area.
- (4) Activity control - each spouse assigned a score based on child's responses to the "deciding" questions.
- (5) Traditional sex role ideology - 4 questions assessing mother's attitude about the extent to which men should not participate in household tasks.
- (6) Male dominance ideology - 4 questions assessing mother's attitude about the extent to which men should hold super-ordinate positions over women.

c) Assumptions

- (1) The stress of working, in terms of the time and effort it takes on the part of the mother, makes it necessary for the husband to take over some of her household tasks in order to maintain the smooth functioning of the household.
- (2) Most household decisions are trivial and are usually made routinely by the person who performs the activity in question, e.g., what will be made for supper is apt to be decided by the person who cooks. It follows that if the mother's employment brings about a decrease in her household task participation and an increase in that of her husband, there should be corresponding changes in household decision-making or activity control. Further, it seems likely that the working mother would be more willing to relinquish her activity control, not only in order to gain





her husband's help with tasks, but also because of the alternative gratification she may receive from having one sphere, her outside job, which is her own.

- (3) Money is an important basis of power so that the control of money leads to the possession of power; a person has more control over the money he earns himself than other persons have; the role of wage-earner in our society carries with it greater opportunities for development of feelings of achievement, competence, and contribution than does the role of housewife. By her employment the mother obtains control of a certain amount of money, thus gaining greater control over financial decisions. This financial control may also enable her to gain more extensive familial power. Furthermore, because she is working and earning money, she gains a new concept of her own worth and thus becomes more assertive. In short, both the husband and the wife are more likely to accept the legitimacy of the working woman's claim to power.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) The employment of the mother outside the home will function to decrease her participation in household tasks and to increase that of her husband.
- (2) The employment of the mother outside the home will function to decrease her decision-making in household tasks (activity control) and to increase that of her husband.
- (3) The employment of the mother outside the home will function to increase her power vis-a-vis her husband.

e) Findings

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported. All results were in the predicted direction and the pattern was unchanged when full-time workers were differentiated from part-time workers.
- (2) Hypothesis 2 was supported.
- (3) Hypothesis 3 was not supported in the matched sample, but was supported in the total sample. This resulted from the fact that in the total sample the working group included relatively more women from lower income families and more women with only one child, both of whom were more likely to have high power.
- (4) Within ideology groups, it was found that women who endorsed male dominance and those who completely rejected it, showed the originally hypothesized positive relationship between the mother's working status and power. Those who rejected it, but not completely or consistently, showed an inverse relationship.



Middleton, Russell, and Putney, Snell, "Dominance in decisions in the family: race and class differences," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May, 1960), pp. 605-609.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: small southern city in United States.
- (2) Who: 40 couples who were American-born, had at least one child, had been married at least two years, were between 25 and 49 in the case of males, 20 and 44 in the case of females. Ten couples were from each of the following: white college professors, Negro college professors, white skilled workers, Negro skilled workers. 26 of the wives were employed and 14 were not.
- (3) How: self-selected samples; matched on mean age of husband and wife, and mean length of marriage; questionnaires filled out individually, then jointly "as a family".

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Socioeconomic status - college professors selected as representative of middle class; skilled workers as representative of working class.
- (2) Relative dominance in making minor decisions - questionnaire including 15 questions in each of 4 areas: child care, purchases and living standards, recreation, and role attitudes. Disagreements on questionnaires filled out individually by spouses tabulated, and categorized as matriarchal, equalitarian, or patriarchal in terms of proportion of disagreements resolved in favor of position originally taken by husband.
- (3) Maternal employment - dichotomized in terms of wives who were employed outside home vs. those who were not.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Families of professionals, whether white or Negro, would reflect their middle-class orientation by being generally equalitarian in decisions.
- (2) Workers, somewhat more removed from middle-class values, would remain closer to their traditions--matriarchal among Negro workers and patriarchal among white workers.

d) Hypothesis

The two groups being compared have the same distribution of dominance in decision making scores.

e) Findings

Using the Mann-Whitney U test of significance:

- (1) The null hypothesis was not rejected. No differences significant at the .05 level were discovered among the four samples, or between all whites compared to all Negroes, or between all professors compared to all skilled workers. All groups were predominantly equalitarian.
- (2) Families in which the wives were working were significantly more patriarchal than those in which the wife did not work (.05). In terms of the 4 areas in which questions were asked, working wives were significantly less dominant in





the areas of child-rearing, recreation, and role attitudes. They did not differ significantly from nonworking wives in the area of purchases and living standards.

Heiss, Jerold S., "Degree of intimacy and male-female interaction," Sociometry, 25 (June, 1962), pp. 197-208.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: University of Connecticut.
- (2) Who: 54 couples of whom 10 were defined as serious daters, 24 as casual daters, and 20 as committed.
- (3) How: volunteers from undergraduate classes; questionnaire in mass administration setting; discussion as a couple in small groups lab.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Intimacy groups - couples subdivided into 3 groups on basis of degree of intimacy and commitment.
- (2) Dominance - interaction scored using 4 major sections of Bales' system: positive reactions, attempted answers, questions, and negative reactions. A dominance index was calculated of the proportion of male's acts in Section "X" to the total number of acts in that section.
- (3) Traditional role structure - 5-item Guttman scale measuring traditionalism in regard to husband-wife roles in decision making.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Due to differences in socialization the average adult male in the United States has a greater need for dominance than the typical female, and a high need for deference is more common among females. If all Ss play the role most congenial to their personalities, the male will be the leader more frequently.
- (2) Posing, an inconsistency between values and behavior, will contribute to a pattern of male dominance.
  - (a) Some females will play the traditional role even if their values are nontraditional, since many women seem to feel they must act in this way or run the risk of endangering their relationships with men. Some men who do not subscribe to the norm of male dominance will act in accordance with this norm as a protection against exploitation, as a means of gaining respect, etc.
  - (b) Some women who accept male dominance will find they are exploited if they act in a submissive way, and this may lead them into assertive behavior. Traditional males may sometimes pose because domination is considered incompatible with feelings of love, respect, etc.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) A traditional role pattern will be observed in the sample as a whole. That is, males will take the lead in the





discussion by dominating and specializing in the attempted answers, questions, negative reactions, and total actions sections of the Bales systems, and females will dominate and specialize in the positive reactions section.

- (2) The traditional role pattern will be more common in the casual groups than in the intimate groups.

e) Findings

- (1) The first hypothesis was partially supported. Males did tend to dominate in task sections, females in the positive reactions section. However, differences in specialization were small, and the hypothesis did not receive adequate support.
- (2) The second hypothesis was supported by the dominance indices.
- (3) For nontraditionalists, as indicated by the Guttman scale, a pattern of male dominance would indicate inconsistency, and it was predicted this inconsistency would be less in intimate groups. The prediction was supported more clearly for females than males.

Babchuk, Nicholas and Bates, Alan P., "The primary relations of middle-class couples: a study in male dominance," American Sociological Review, 28 (June, 1963), pp. 377-384.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Lincoln, Nebraska and suburban Omaha communities.
- (2) Who: 39 couples, white, college trained, 20-40 years old; 24 couples married less than 3 years; 5 more than a decade; 26 couples had children, an average of 2 per family.
- (3) How: pretested, structured interview schedule administered to each member of couple separately.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Primary group - each spouse asked to initial names of persons regarded as very close mutual friends and to exclude relatives; no limit on number of names imposed.
- (2) Male dominance - shared friendships initiated by husband.
- (3) Positive affect - measured by past behavior, attitudinal statement, and naming a person as one of 3 closest friends.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) The husband will initiate a greater number of the mutual primary friendships shared by the couple than will his wife. (Very close friends of the male in the period prior to marriage are more likely to become mutual friends of the pair after marriage than very close friends of the female. Also, mutual friends developed subsequent to marriage are more likely to be introduced to the pair by the husband rather than wife.)



- (2) Among primary group friendships shared by the couple, more frequent visiting will characterize friendships initiated by the husband.
  - (3) The shared friendships initiated by the husband will be characterized by a stronger positive affect.
  - (4) The shared friendships initiated by the husband will involve a wider range of activities in which he and his wife participate with their friends than those initiated by the wife.
- e) Findings
- (1) The general finding was that middle-class couples share very few intimate friends, only 3 couples being in complete agreement.
  - (2) The first and third hypotheses were supported.
  - (3) The second hypothesis was not supported; analysis was limited to local mutual friends. Frequency of visiting was approximately the same regardless of the initiator.
  - (4) The fourth hypothesis was not supported.

Silverman, William and Hill, Reuben, "Task allocation in marriage in the United States and Belgium," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 353-359.

- a) Sample
- (1) Where: Louvain, Belgium.
  - (2) Who: 500 families.
  - (3) How: representative sample; compared to data from Blood and Wolfe's Detroit study, op. cit.
- b) Operational Definitions
- (1) Task allocation structure - three measures built out of response to question of who does what and how regularly with respect to 10 tasks, 5 of which were used in the Detroit study. The 3 measures were: relative task participation, adherence to traditional sex roles, and role specialization.
  - (2) Husband's occupational involvement - indicators used were being of professional or managerial occupations versus other, having high rather than low family income, and experiencing upward occupational mobility versus being stable.
  - (3) Wife's employment status - categorized as not currently working, working gainfully at home, and working gainfully outside home.
  - (4) Wife's employment history - categorized in terms of both current and past employment.
  - (5) Traditional value orientation - indicators used were rural residence, Catholic schooling for spouses, adherence to cultural prescription in power allocation.
  - (6) Stages in the family cycle - categorized as in Detroit sample.
- c) Assumptions
- Three theories may be advanced to account for differences in task





allocation in families, with different underlying assumptions for each:

- (1) Availability Theory. The more available a spouse is to perform family tasks, the more tasks the spouse is likely to perform.
- (2) Traditionalism Theory. Families with a traditional value orientation are more likely than modernistically oriented families to have a culturally prescribed task allocation structure.
- (3) Family Development Theory. Task allocation changes as the structure of the family changes over the family cycle. The changes which occur in family size, age composition of members, and in husband-father involvement in the occupational structure over the life span of the family will be reflected in the role content of the wife-mother and husband-father positions.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Availability Theory
  - (a) If the wife is working gainfully, she will be less available to perform home tasks.
  - (b) Men who are deeply involved in their occupations are less available for family tasks than less involved husbands.
- (2) Traditionalism Theory. With the measures of task allocation used, the traditional families would have:
  - (a) higher wife task participation scores,
  - (b) higher adherence to culturally defined sex roles, and
  - (c) higher role specialization scores than other families.
- (3) Family Development Theory
  - (a) At the beginning of marriage, before there are children, tasks will be allocated more evenly and in less specialized fashion with more tasks undertaken together, especially if the wife is working gainfully.
  - (b) With the coming of children and the loss of the wife's income, the husband becomes increasingly involved in his work and less available for home tasks, relinquishing all but sex-assigned tasks, and the wife picks up the slack with increased participation in all but the major male task areas.
  - (c) It is not until the children are young adults or launched from the home that the wife again returns to gainful employment. At that point, the husband equalizes the home tasks by resuming household assignments he had taken leave from during the child-rearing period.

e) Findings

- (1) The wife availability proposition was supported in both Detroit and Louvain. Women who worked outside the home showed lower levels of task participation than wives not working or working at home ( $F = 9.638$ ,  $df = 2$  and  $496$ ,  $.01$ ). The relationship held when viewed over the work history of the wife ( $F = 2.75$ ,  $df = 5$  and  $490$ ,  $.05$ ). However, it was not supported for husbands in Louvain.





- (2) Traditionalism Theory. Hypotheses were not confirmed in either Detroit or Louvain. However, for propositions relating indicators of traditionalism and adherence to cultural prescriptions about sex roles, 2 hypotheses were confirmed. Spouses who were reared in rural areas were more likely to conform to the cultural prescriptions about sex roles than spouses who lived in cities before marriage. Families that allocated responsibility for making decisions along traditional sex lines were also more likely to have a traditional division of labor in the home (.01).
- (3) Limited support was provided for Family Development Theory.

### 3. Maternal Role

Rosengren, William R., "Social sources of pregnancy as illness or normality," Social Forces, 39 (March, 1961), pp. 260-267.

#### a) Sample

- (1) Where: not stated.
- (2) Who: 76 "normal" pregnant women, 44 from clinic population of a hospital, 32 patients of obstetricians in private practice.
- (3) How: purposive sample; interviews at time of regularly scheduled visits for obstetrical attendance.

#### b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Sick role expectations - semi-structured interview focussed upon 5 key dimensions of sick role, and coded to provide a single score.
- (2) Social aspirations - series of open-ended questions concerning aspirations for future; coded as to total number, positive or negative affect, and emphasis on material or "way of life" aspect.
- (3) Social status - variables of income, husband's and own educational and occupational level handled separately.

#### c) Assumptions

None stated.

#### d) Hypotheses

Regarding low social status to be an index of greater social disturbance than high social status:

- (1) High sick role expectations would be associated with low social status.

Considering dissatisfactions with current round of life to be an index of both personal and social disturbance:

- (2) High sick role expectations would be associated with high negative social aspirations and with high material aspirations.



Considering upward mobility to be less disturbing than downward mobility:

- (3) High sick role expectations would be found among the downwardly mobile, while correspondingly lower sick role expectations would be found among the upwardly mobile.

Considering the first 3 hypotheses:

- (4) High negative and material aspirations would be found more among low status women than among high status women; more instances of downward mobility would be found among low status women than among high status women.

e) Findings

Using  $r$  as the measure of association,  $t$  as the test of significance:

- (1) The first hypothesis was partially supported. The extent of sick role expectations was negatively related to all of the social status indicators (.01 or better) except the pregnant woman's occupational status ( $r = .36, .01$ ). That is, women who were or had been employed in higher status occupations tended to regard themselves as more "sick" than did those who had held lower status jobs.
- (2) The second hypothesis was supported on all indices at the .01 level or better.
- (3) The third hypothesis was not supported. However, a significant difference was noted when the upwardly and downwardly mobile women were grouped together and compared with the subjects who had experienced comparatively little social mobility (Snedecor's  $F, .05$ ).
- (4) Hypothesis 4 was partially supported. (a) There was a positive correlation between total social aspirations and the status factors of income, occupation, and education (.05 or better). A control for education revealed these relationships could not be accounted for by the variable of level of verbalization. (b) Negative aspirations were not significantly related to the income and educational levels of the women, but were inversely related to the subjects' occupational status (.05), to husband's education (.001), and occupation (.001). (c) None of the status factors was significantly correlated with way of life aspirations. (d) There were more lower status women among the downwardly mobile subjects than higher status women.
- (5) There was no significant difference between the total, negative aspirations, or ways of life aspirations, of the upwardly mobile women as compared with the downwardly mobile. When the upwardly and the downwardly mobile were jointly compared with the women who were more stable in terms of mobility (a) no significant differences were revealed when correlated with total or ways of life aspirations, (b) the mobile women expressed extremely significantly more negative aspirations than did the stable women ( $F = 101.00, .001$ ).





Rosengren, William R., "Social instability and attitudes toward pregnancy as a social role," Social Problems, 9 (Spring, 1962), pp. 371-378.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: not stated.
- (2) Who: 110 pregnant women ranging in age from 18 to 42 years with a mean age of 25.8 years; 65 drawn from the clinic population of a large metropolitan lying-in hospital; 45 patients of obstetricians in private practice. Clinic patients overwhelmingly lower class; private patients largely middle class.
- (3) How: clinic patients reported as representative in terms of age and number of previous children; interviews.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Socioeconomic status - Ss categorized as lower or higher status on basis of family income, subject's educational level, husband's occupational and educational levels.
- (2) Cultural values - 9 questions of value orientation. Categorized as consistent or inconsistent with the woman's objective social status; as congruous (all middle or all lower class), or incongruous (mixed cultural values).
- (3) Self-esteem and social attribute attainment - women asked to name two face-to-face groups of women to which she belonged and then provided with standard definitions of cultural standing, social standing, economic standing, intellectual standing, and physical attractiveness. She then rated herself as higher or lower than the women with whom she interacted on each of the attributes, from which a single self-esteem score was derived. Feeling of social attribute attainment was categorized in terms of those women who rated themselves higher than members of both reference groups on the one attribute they regarded as most important, vs. those who rated themselves lower.
- (4) Sick role expectations - as in ibid.

c) Assumptions

The motivation to enact the sick role is related to social instability.

d) Hypotheses

Considering conflicts and ambiguities in cultural values to be greater indicators of social instability than nonconflicting and unambiguous cultural values:

- (1) Regard for self as "sick" during pregnancy would be related to the extent of inconsistent cultural values expressed.
- (2) Regard for self as "sick" during pregnancy would be related to the extent of incongruous cultural values.

Considering low self-esteem to be a greater indicator of social instability than high self-esteem:

- (3) Women with low self-ratings would tend to regard themselves as more "sick" during pregnancy than would women with high self-ratings.





- (4) Women with low feelings of social attribute attainment would express higher sick role expectations than would women with high feelings of social attribute attainment.

e) Findings

Using  $r$  as the measure of association and  $t$  as the test of significance:

All four hypotheses were supported in general, but contrasting relationships appeared when the lower and higher status women were considered separately.

- (1) Women who expressed incongruous cultural values, or values inconsistent with their objective socioeconomic status tended to regard themselves as more "sick" than women expressing congruous or consistent values (Snedecor's  $F$ , .001). With social class controlled, the relationship held for lower status women only (.001).
- (2) There was a significant negative association between high self-ratings and sick role expectations among the total sample (.01). With social class controlled, the relationship held for higher status women only.
- (3) Women who expressed low feelings of social attribute attainment tended to regard themselves as significantly more "sick" than did women who expressed high feelings of social attribute attainment ( $F$ , .01). With social class controlled the relationship held for higher status women only (.05).

Rosengren, William A., "Social status, attitudes toward pregnancy and child-rearing attitudes," Social Forces, 41 (December, 1962), pp. 127-134.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: not stated.
- (2) Who: 63 pregnant women, of whom 13 were patients of doctors in private practice, and 50 were drawn from the clinic population of a large metropolitan lying-in hospital.
- (3) How: random sampling procedures not used although  $S_s$  subsequently shown to be representative in terms of age, number of previous children, race, and range of social status factors; interviews.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Social status - occupational status of husband, educational status of both husband and wife, and family income treated as separate variables.
- (2) Attitudes toward pregnancy - as in previous two studies.
- (3) Child-rearing attitudes - responses to 10 aspects of child-rearing categorized as retaliatory (rigidity, punitiveness, rejection, lack of individuation) or conciliatory (indicating flexibility, benignity, acceptance, and individuation).



c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) The extent of regard for self as sick during pregnancy would be positively associated with the extent of retaliatory child-rearing attitudes.
- (2) Social status would be negatively related to the extent of retaliatory child-rearing attitudes.
- (3) A positive association between retaliatory attitudes and sick role expectations would be found within both high and low status groups considered separately.

Although not formally stated, a fourth hypothesis was tested which had been advanced in an earlier study (Rosengren, "Social sources of pregnancy as illness or normality," op. cit.):

- (4) High sick role expectations would be associated with low social status.

e) Findings

Using  $r$  as the measure of association, and  $t$  as the test of significance:

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported. Those women who regarded themselves as most sick during pregnancy expressed significantly many retaliatory attitudes ( $r = .49, .001$ ).
- (2) The second hypothesis was not supported, although findings were consistent in direction.
- (3) The third hypothesis was supported. Retaliatory child-rearing attitudes were significantly associated with sick role expectations in both high and low status groups (.05 and .01 respectively).
- (4) The fourth hypothesis was not supported. No statistically significant associations were found between sick role expectations and the several indicators of social class, a finding directly contradictory to his earlier study. It was suggested that these results may have been an artifact of the lack of variance among the various measures of social status.

LeMasters, E. E., "Parenthood as crisis," Marriage and Family Living, 19 (November, 1957), pp. 352-355.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: not stated.
- (2) Who: 46 couples who had an unbroken marriage, urban or suburban residence, were between 25 and 35 years of age, husband college graduate, husband's occupation middle class, wife not employed after birth of first child, and had first child within 5 years of the study.
- (3) How: purposive sample; unstructured interview (apparently together).





b) Operational Definitions

Crisis - 5-point scale used in coding severity of crisis; rating arrived at jointly by interviewer and parents.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Crisis may be defined as any sharp or decisive change for which old patterns are inadequate.
- (2) Shock is related to the fact that the crisis event forces a reorganization of the family as a social system. Roles have to be reassigned, status positions shifted, values reoriented, and needs met through new channels.
- (3) Crises may originate either from within the family itself or from the outside.
- (4) The total impact of the crisis will depend upon a number of variables: (a) the nature of the crisis event, (b) the state of organization or disorganization of the family at the point of impact, (c) the resources of the family, and (d) its previous experience with crisis.
- (5) The sequence of events is somewhat as follows: level of organization before the crisis, point of impact, period of disorganization, recovery, and subsequent level of reorganization.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) If the family is conceptualized as a small social system, would it not follow that the adding of a new member to the system could force a reorganization of the system as drastic (or nearly so) as does the removal of a member?
- (2) If the above were correct, would it not follow that the arrival of the first child could be construed as a "crisis" or critical event?

e) Findings

- (1) The second hypothesis was supported; 38 of the 46 couples reported "extensive" or "severe" crisis in adjusting to the first child.
- (2) The crisis reaction was not related to not wanting children, marital unhappiness, "neurosis" or other psychiatric disability; rather, the 38 couples in the crisis group appeared to have almost completely romanticized parenthood.
- (3) The mothers with professional training and extensive professional work experience (8 cases) suffered "extensive" or "severe" crisis in every case.

Dyer, Everett D., "Parenthood as crisis: a re-study," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (May, 1963), pp. 196-201.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Houston, Texas.
- (2) Who: 32 couples who met the criteria reported in ibid., with the exceptions that husband and/or wife had a college education, and they had their first child within two years





of the study; 62% of the wives had been employed prior to the birth of the child.

- (3) How: purposive sample; questionnaires administered to husbands and wives separately.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Crisis - 16-item Likert-type scale tested for reliability by the split-half method and assessed for validity by the jury opinion method (6 young couples each having one or more small children.)
- (2) Family organization - categorized from excellent to poor based on self-ratings of strength of marriage up to time of child's arrival.
- (3) Marital adjustment - self-rating on a 5-point scale ranging from very happy to very unhappy.
- (4) Family reorganization - a 4-point rating scale was used based on the duration of the crisis problems specified by each couple, and their success in solving their problems up to the time of the study.

c) Assumptions

As in ibid.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) The addition of the first child would constitute a crisis event for urban middle-class couples to a considerable degree, forcing each couple to reorganize many of their roles and relationships.
- (2) Some middle-class couples would be better equipped and prepared than others for the advent of the first child, and thus experience a lesser degree of crisis. Those couples would be better able to meet the demands of parenthood:
  - (a) who were better educated
  - (b) who had studied about and planned for parenthood
  - (c) who were not too young and had not started their families too quickly after marriage
  - (d) where the husband and wife were quite close in both age and education
  - (e) where the wife had not become too attached to a work role outside the home.
- (3) Those couples whose marital adjustment was very good would experience less crisis on becoming new parents.

e) Findings

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported. No families were rated as having experienced no crisis, 9% were rated as having experienced slight crisis, 38% as moderate, 28% as extensive, and 25% as severe. 87% of the wives admitted to one or more severe problems; 80% of the husbands.
- (2) Significant relationships were found between "crisis" and the following variables (Chi-square, .05):
  - (a) Marital adjustment rating of the couple after the birth of the child, those rating their marriage as excellent having experienced significantly less crisis.



- (b) Preparation for marriage courses in high school or college, those taking the courses having experienced less crisis.
  - (c) Number of years married, those married 3 years or more having experienced less crisis.
  - (d) Education of husband but not wife, couples where the husband was not a college graduate having experienced greater crisis.
  - (e) Planned parenthood, crisis being less among those who had planned their parenthood and followed their plan, and greater among those who had no plan or had failed to follow their plan.
  - (f) Age of the child, couples whose child was under 6 months were still experiencing more crisis, problems, etc., than those whose child was 6 months or over.
  - (3) No significant relationships were found between "crisis" and the following variables:
    - (a) Employment of the wife before the child arrived.
    - (b) Ages of husband or wife.
    - (c) Number of years between marriage and birth of child.
    - (d) Husband and wife differences in preparation for parenthood.
    - (e) Educational differences between husband and wife.
- N.B.: 3(c) appears to directly contradict 2(c); as does 3(e) to contradict 2(d).

Hobbs, Daniel F., Jr., "Parenthood as crisis: a third study," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 27 (August, 1965), pp. 367-372.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Greensboro, North Carolina.
- (2) Who: 53 white urban couples who were first-time parents. Fathers' ages ranged from 18-38, mothers' from 16-36. Amount of education varied from 2 cases of illiteracy to persons with advanced graduate degrees; occupations equally varied. About 63% of the mothers worked before the baby's birth; 7 (13%) continued to do so afterwards. Age of babies ranged from 3-18 weeks; sex ratio virtually equal. All births were in wedlock, but 34% were born less than 9 months after the wedding; none were premature.
- (3) How: 50% random sample of white urban first-time parents drawn from public birth records; multiple births excluded; questionnaires (65% return rate).

b) Operational Definitions

Crisis - 23-item objectivity checklist.

c) Assumptions

As in previous two studies.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.





e) Findings

87% of the couples were categorized as having experienced slight crisis; 13% as moderate. The largely negative findings of the study appear to stem from this lack of variation.

Sharp, Lawrence J., "Employment status of mothers and some aspects of mental illness," American Sociological Review, 25 (October, 1960), pp. 714-717.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: 3 state mental hospitals in Washington.
- (2) Who: 152 native, white, female first admissions between the ages of 18 and 45 who were mothers of children under 18 years of age; 76 employed and 76 not employed.
- (3) How: 40% stratified random sample by month of admission of 525 native, white, female first admissions; 58 of the 210 cases so obtained lost because of suspected inadequate reliability of case history information, or subsampling for an equal number of employed and non-employed mothers. Information taken from case history records.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment - classified as "not employed" if she had never been employed prior to hospitalization for mental illness, as "employed" if she had been employed 24 hours or more per week within one year of hospitalization.
- (2) Personality type - mental illness diagnosis as organic, psychotic, neurotic, behavioral.
- (3) Quality of family organization - 5 indices taken from the social background section of each case history: multiple marriages of wife, multiple marriages of husband, marital-pair conflict, lower socioeconomic status, and such unusual habits of the husband as deviant sex practices, excessive drinking, and willfully irregular work habits.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Mental illness diagnosis is a descriptive typology of various personality systems in terms of outstanding pathology.
- (2) Lower socioeconomic status is an index of family organization to the extent that in a significant number of case histories investigated, those persons contributing information reported inadequate economic status and marginal social participation to be associated with delinquency, desertion, and other characteristics of poor quality of family organization.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) If mothers with certain personality types are more likely to become employed, then employed mothers should show a differential in personality type as compared with non-employed mothers.





- (2) If the association of family disorganization and mothers' employment is partly a function of "occupational personality", then personality type associated with employment should also be associated with indices of family disorganization.
- (3) If the personality type associated both with employment and family disorganization accounts for the relation of employment and family disorganization, then removal of the personality type associated with employment should confirm the null hypothesis in the association of mothers' employment and family disorganization.

e) Findings

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported (Chi-square, .001): 47% of the employed mothers were diagnosed as psychoneurotic, 6% of the nonemployed mothers; 68% of the nonemployed mothers were diagnosed as psychotic, compared with 35% of the employed mothers.
- (2) The second hypothesis was supported. Psychoneurotic diagnosis was significantly associated with 4 indices: excessive marital-pair conflict (.01), husband possesses unusual habits (.05), multiple marriages of wife (.02), and multiple marriages of husband (.01). The exception was lower socioeconomic status (.10).
- (3) The third hypothesis, in null form, was not rejected. After psychoneurotic cases were removed from the sample, none of the indices of family disorganization was significantly associated with either employment or nonemployment of the mother.

Sharp, Lawrence J., and Nye, F. Ivan, "Maternal mental health," in Nye and Hoffman, Op. cit., pp. 309-319.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: 3 small Washington cities.
- (2) Who: Caucasian, non-farm mothers having children in grades 1 or 10, living in intact families. Working and nonworking samples were matched by number of children in the family, presence of preschool children, socioeconomic status, education level of wife, and marital status (original or remarriage). Selected from data collected from 1993 mothers; but N employed for this analysis is not clear.
- (3) How: names and addresses of mothers obtained from school records of all public and parochial schools; mailed questionnaires (78% return rate).

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment - classified as part-time, full-time, and not employed at time of study.
- (2) Anxiety - 10-item Guttman-type scale of psychosomatic symptoms; validated with visitation to a psychiatrist.
- (3) Socioeconomic status - 4 categories by husband's occupation.



c) Assumptions

- (1) Because of the possibility that mothers' employment may have either a direct or contingent effect upon mental health, and since a long-range longitudinal study has been impossible up to this time, the analysis of the relationship between mental health and employment must be undertaken on 2 levels:
  - (a) evidence of mental health among employed and nonemployed mothers in the general population;
  - (b) evidences of the effect of employment upon those employed and nonemployed mothers who have developed major mental health problems.
- (2) Psychosomatic symptoms are a satisfactory device for the identification of psychoneurotics.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Employed mothers do not differ from non-employed mothers in anxiety level.
- (2) Mothers whose husbands are in the managerial or professional occupational category will show fewer anxiety symptoms when they are members of an occupational category similar in level to that of their husbands (advanced on a post hoc basis after analysis controlling for SES).

e) Findings

- (1) The first hypothesis, in null form, was not rejected for the total sample.
- (2) The second hypothesis was supported.

Nye, F. Ivan, "Adjustment to children," in ibid., pp. 353-362.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: 3 Washington communities.
- (2) Who: 1993 mothers of children in grades 1 and 10 in all schools, public and parochial.
- (3) How: population selected from school records; mailed questionnaire (78% return rate).

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment - trichotomized into not employed, employed part-time, employed full-time.
- (2) Adjustment to maternal role - 5-item Guttman-type scale.

c) Assumptions

The employment of women outside the home is a specific adjustment of the family to general change in economic and family organization. Since employment is adjustive to changes in these institutions, it should provide increased satisfaction with the maternal role; however, some anxieties and guilt feelings are also thought to be characteristic of this transitional period.

d) Hypothesis

Adjustment of mothers to children does not differ by employment status.





e) Findings

- (1) Comparison in terms of the 7 individual items revealed two significant differences: employed mothers more often desired more children (family size controlled); nonemployed more often agreed with the statement "children make me nervous".
- (2) In small families (1-3 children) employed mothers were more likely to be well adjusted to children, in large families to be more poorly adjusted (significant in small families, but not in large).
- (3) Adjustment to children consistently improved with length of employment.
- (4) Education of wife and occupation of husband disclosed no significant differences between groups of mothers.

Powell, Kathryn S., "Personalities of children and child-rearing attitudes of mothers," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 125-132.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Tallahassee, Florida.
- (2) Who: 130 mothers of children enrolled in nursery school and kindergarten at Florida State University or a private school selected to be homogeneous; 44 gainfully employed. Of the total, 42 mothers had oldest children who were of preschool age, 41 of elementary school age, and 47 adolescents.
- (3) How: mailed questionnaires to all mothers in a class, or random sample. Criteria of selection: white, American-born, urban, middle-class, of intact families.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Socioeconomic status - McGuire-White Index of Social Status.
- (2) Stage in the family life cycle - 3 stages based on age of oldest child: preschool, elementary school, adolescent ages.
- (3) Mother's employment status - two groups, employed or not employed; classified as employed if she worked 16 hours a week or more in gainful employment outside the home.
- (4) Attitudes of mothers towards children - subscale, General Home Standards, from Wiley's Child Guidance Scale.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypothesis

There is no relationship between maternal employment and attitudes of mothers toward child-rearing.

e) Findings

- (1) The null hypothesis was not rejected at any of the 3 stages of the family life cycle.
- (2) There was a consistent trend for the non-employed mothers to have more favorable attitudes than employed mothers.
- (3) There was a trend toward attitudes that were more favorable to the welfare of the child as an individual for the mothers with youngest children.





Yarrow, Marian Radke, Scott, Phyllis, de Leeuw, Louise, and Heinig, Christine, "Child-rearing in families of working and nonworking mothers," Sociometry, 25 (June, 1962), pp. 122-140.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Greater Washington area.
- (2) Who: 50 employed and 50 nonemployed mothers from white, urban, middle and upper middle class families with a male wage earner present. All had worked at some time; half of the nonworking mothers had worked after marriage, before having children. Family size ranged from 1-4, with at least one child (about whom the mother was interviewed) between 4 and 11 years of age. Samples comparable as to social status, family size, sex of children, age of children, and age, education, and occupation of mother.
- (3) How: population obtained from public school records; 21% of working mothers and 17% of nonemployed mothers refused. Ss interviewed in homes.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Independent variables
  - (a) Work status - mothers classified as employed if they had worked 28 hours per week or more steadily over the past year; as nonemployed if they had not been engaged in paid employment over past year.
  - (b) Role preference - whether mother would work given the choice; ranking of alternatives involving job, marriage, children.
  - (c) Motives for working and not working - working mothers categorized as working to attain family goals or for self-fulfillment; nonworking mothers as not working due to a love of mothering, duty to mothering, or a desire for freedom or an easier life.
  - (d) Academic achievement - dichotomized into high school vs. college.
  - (e) Sex role ideology - equalitarian or traditional on basis of attitude towards position that a woman's place is in the home.
- (2) Dependent variables - child-rearing practices
  - (a) Discipline - ratings of mother's strictness, mother's strictness relative to father, disciplinary techniques, mother's permissiveness of aggression, child's rebellious behavior, degree to which control is an issue between mother and child.
  - (b) Independence training - ratings of nurturing independence, household responsibilities, and child's dependence on mother.
  - (c) Emotional relationships - ratings of sensitivity to child's needs, emotional satisfaction in relationships with child, planned activities with child by mother and father, confidence in child rearing.
  - (d) Independence training - ratings of nurturing independence



of rearing, clarity of limits set for child, consistency between principles and practices, scheduling, traditional philosophy regarding sex role training, traditional sex-typed household functions, and adequacy of mothering.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypothesis

The mother's gratifications and frustrations in her other adult (nonmother) roles, her achievement needs, and her feelings of self-fulfillment influence her functioning as a mother and affect what is mediated to the child by her child-rearing practices.

e) Findings

- (1) Variable of sex role ideology not used because of little variation among Ss.
- (2) The classification of mothers by work status was significant (.05) on only 1 of the 21 comparisons made. Working mothers (42%) more frequently than nonworking mothers (24%) expressed misgivings and anxious concern about their role as mother.
- (3) 76% of the working mothers and 82% of the nonworking mothers indicated preference for their present roles. When mothers who were in their preferred work roles were compared, only 1 of the 21 comparisons was significant: more satisfied nonworking mothers were rated as showing high sensitivity to children's needs than were satisfied working mothers. When dissatisfied mothers were compared, dissatisfied working mothers more often reported problems in areas of control (.01), child's rebellious behavior (.05), and expressed concern with adequacy of mothering (.02) than dissatisfied nonworking mothers. With work status controlled, satisfied working mothers reported the father as less strict (.05), the child as less dependent (.02), and less clear limits set for the child (.05), than did dissatisfied working mothers. Among nonworking mothers, those who were satisfied less often reported control an issue (.05), and more often reported emotional satisfaction in relationships with child (.02), confidence in child rearing (.01), clear limits set for child (.05), consistency between principles and practices (.01), and received a higher adequacy of mothering summary rating (.01).
- (4) There were no differences in child rearing significant at the .05 level when women working for family motivations and self-fulfillment motivations were compared. Nonworking mothers motivated by "love" reported more nurturing independence (.05), sensitivity to child's needs (.02), emotional satisfaction in relationships with child (.05), confidence in child rearing (.02), and adequacy of mothering (.05), than did "duty" mothers.
- (5) With work status ignored, college-trained and high school-trained mothers did not differ on child-rearing measures. However, considering work status and educational level,





nonworking college mothers and nonworking high school mothers differed in more ways in child rearing than did working college and high school mothers. In the nonworking groups, college mothers were more often rated high in nurturing independence (.05), sensitivity to child's needs (.01), clarity of limits set for child (.05), consistency between principles and practices (.02), and obtained a higher summary rating on adequacy of mothering (.05). In working groups, college mothers were rated higher in sensitivity to child's needs (.02), and less often reported father stricter than mother (.02) than high school mothers.

- (6) When working and nonworking mothers were compared within each educational group, different patterns of adjustment emerged. Working mothers of high school background more often reported father as stricter parent (.05), less often reported child's rebellious behavior (.01), and reported more nurturing independence (.05) than did nonworking mothers. Working mothers of college background reported more planned activities with child (by mother, .10; by father, .02) and higher consistency between principles and practice (.02) than did nonworking mothers.

Swimehart, James W., "Socioeconomic level, status aspiration, and maternal role," American Sociological Review, 28 (June, 1963), pp. 391-399.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: St. Louis County.
- (2) Who: 252 mothers of 3rd-grade children in families having more than 1 child in the home, no previous marriage for either spouse, no religious conflict between parents, and both parents living and at home.
- (3) How: secondary analysis of data; sample selected from population of 444 interviews from families meeting above criteria. Random omission of cases to obtain 28 cases in upper, upper middle, and lower lower socioeconomic strata, and 56 cases in middle middle, lower middle, and upper lower.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) SES - modified Warner's scale; indicators were occupation, education, income, living conditions, wife's education.
- (2) Status aspiration - response categories of occupational discrepancy (of parents and that desired for child), educational discrepancy, and satisfaction with neighborhood combined to form a scale, and dichotomized into low and high aspiring.
- (3) Primary objective in child rearing - classified as meeting social and emotional needs of children, meeting physical needs, and training children, guiding behavior, building character.





- (4) Primary source of satisfaction in maternal role - classified as derived from giving to children or getting from children.
- (5) Amount of concern about effective performance in maternal role - results from an interview measure and a questionnaire measure both coded into the same 3 categories of high concern, uncertain, indefinite, or inconsistent responses, or low concern.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Mothers on different socioeconomic levels differ in their primary child-rearing objectives.
- (2) Upper- and middle-class mothers are less accepting of the "service" aspects of the maternal role than are lower-class mothers.
- (3) Mothers oriented to upward mobility are less accepting of the "service" aspects of the maternal role than are mothers relatively content with their social status.
- (4) Middle-class mothers express greater concern than upper- or lower-class mothers about the adequacy of their maternal role performance.
- (5) Upward-aspiring mothers express greater concern than non-aspiring mothers about the adequacy of their maternal role performance.

e) Findings

Using Chi-square as the test of significance:

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported (.001). Respondents on the two lowest levels (LL, UL) most often said they felt effective in meeting the physical needs of their children. Middle-class mothers tended to stress the development of character and morality; upper-class handling children's social and emotional needs.
- (2) Hypothesis 2 was supported (.01) but the trend was inconsistent.
- (3) Hypothesis 3 was not supported.
- (4) Hypothesis 4 was supported by the interview; the converse was supported by the questionnaire.
- (5) Hypothesis 5 was not supported.
- (6) Number of children in family, age of youngest child, adjustment level of 3rd-grade child, and mother's employment outside the home were all found unrelated to the attitude measures used.



#### 4. Career Role

Conyers, James E., "Employers' attitudes toward working mothers," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 372-383, expanded and revised from "Employers' attitudes toward working mothers," Sociology and Social Research, 45 (January, 1961), pp. 145-156.

##### a) Sample

- (1) Where: western city of about 200,000 population.
- (2) Who: 18 managers acting as employment agents and personnel managers. Estimated that these businesses employed approximately 1,850 mothers, and of these that 50% had children under 18 years of age.
- (3) How: random sample from population of 100 businesses or service concerns employing the largest number of females. Selected to be representative of the following categories: professional, clerical and kindred, sales workers, service workers, and operatives. Two refusals. Data obtained through a pretested structured interview.

##### b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Employment practices - hiring procedures.
- (2) General attitudes - unstructured question.
- (3) Advantages of employing mothers.
- (4) Problems and conflicts in employing mothers - asked to compare single and childless married women with mothers in reference to requests for special privileges, complaints and grievances, health, accidents, temperament and disposition, and job morale.
- (5) Conflicts between home and work - questions as to type, frequency and seriousness.
- (6) Pregnancy and employment - questions regarding policy.
- (7) Child-care facilities for children of working mothers - questions as to adequacy and provisions.

##### c) Assumptions

- (1) The employers' reaction to mothers is both intrinsically interesting and possesses considerable significance for future trends in maternal employment. If employer attitudes are unfavorable because of a traditional family ideology or because mothers are less productive or dependable as employees, one might forecast a decreasing rate of the flow of mothers into employment. Conversely, either neutral or positive attitudes would be favorable to the continued and rapid movement of mothers into factory, office, classroom, and other paid employment. Attitudes of employers whether positive, negative, or neutral undoubtedly have a bearing on the work adjustment of mothers and an indirect bearing on their family relationships.
- (2) A number of studies have shown that the statuses of wife and of mother have been altered by simultaneous assumption





of the status of employee. The reverse question should also be asked: Do the family statuses affect employers' expectations concerning the employee role? Are mothers accorded special privileges because of their other responsibilities, or are the expectations for all women workers affected by the increasing proportion of them who are mothers? If the answer to these questions is "Yes", one might forecast an increased congruence of the maternal and employee roles and a sharing of the necessary adjustments between family and economic organization.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) Employers felt some ambivalence as to the advantages of employing mothers, one of the principal reasons both for employing and not employing mothers being one and the same--stability. They have other responsibilities which may interfere with job regularity, yet these responsibilities themselves encourage dependability.
- (2) Areas of conflict between home and work were not regarded as serious.
- (3) Child-care facilities were considered adequate as long as the mother came to work. While company responsibility was nil, most said they helped by granting small favors when possible. Mothers in turn were reported to "make up" for these "favors" by more efficient and responsible work.
- (4) The usual policy in the case of pregnancy was complete severance, although in some cases leaves of absence were granted and an attempt made to keep her job open.

Weil, Mildred W., "An analysis of the factors influencing married women's actual or planned work participation," American Sociological Review, 26 (February, 1961), pp. 91-96.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Livingston, New Jersey.
- (2) Who: 200 white married women with children living in a lower and a middle priced development; median age, 36; 23 employed full-time, 26 part-time, 62 planning to work, 89 not planning to work.
- (3) How: Of the total of 248 homes in the 2 developments, 30 did not meet the criteria and there were 18 refusals; interview.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Participation in labor force - working wives classified as to whether they were working full- or part-time; non-working wives by whether they were or were not planning to work.
- (2) Socioeconomic status - place of residence.





- (3) Traditional or companionship attitude - Motz Role Inventory.
- (4) Husband's attitude toward wife's participation in labor force - reported by wife, and classified as to attitude, help with chores, and help with care of children.
- (5) Career orientation - respondents classified on the demographic variables of wife's occupation before marriage, work after marriage, educational level, training, and husband's occupation; on reasons for present employment by outside stimulation, additional income, job offered, additional income and outside stimulation, enjoy occupation, husband disabled, and utilize education and training.
- (6) Other factors - children of school age, family debts, planning the purchase of big items, availability fo work.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) A woman will perform or plan to perform in both the traditional and career, or in the companionship and career roles, when her husband's attitude toward outside employment supports this decision.
- (2) The performance of married women with children in the labor force or the planning to perform in the labor force will occur when employment for which the woman is qualified is available.
- (3) The higher the socioeconomic background of the family, the more likely the married woman with children is to "choose" to perform in the labor force.
- (4) A woman will perform or plan to perform the career role as well as the traditional (housewife and mother) role or companionship role when she has achieved a "high" educational level (four or more years of college training), or has had "specialized" training.
- (5) The performance of married women with children in the labor force or the planning to perform in the labor force, will occur when women have husbands who accept an obligation for helping with the care of children and with household chores.
- (6) The performance of married women with children in the labor force or the planning to perform in the labor force will occur if these women performed in an occupation before marriage that required "high" educational achievement or specialized training.
- (7) Married women with children will perform in the labor force or plan to participate in the labor force if they had continued to work after marriage.
- (8) Women with children will participate in the labor force or will plan to participate in the labor force when the family unit has debts.
- (9) Women with children will participate or plan to participate in the labor force when the family unit plans to purchase big items.



e) Findings

- (1) In rank order of importance, the findings tended to confirm Hypotheses 1, 4, 7, 6, and 5 (tetrachoric correlation coefficient with cosine pi formula).
- (2) A sixth factor was found which had not been hypothesized: Married women with children will perform in the labor force or plan to participate in the labor force when her children are of school age.

Sobol, Marion G., "Commitment to work," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 40-63.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: United States.
- (2) Who: stratified random sample of 2713 white married women of childbearing age (18-39); 2141 not working, 672 working.
- (3) How: secondary analysis of data collected at University of Michigan in 1955; interviews.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Work behavior - working vs. not working at time of interview.
- (2) Future work plans - if working, whether temporary or permanent; if not working, whether plan to work at some future time if husband is well and working.
- (3) Influences on work decisions - (a) enabling conditions (family status), (b) facilitating conditions (ease in obtaining work) - previous experience, (c) precipitating conditions (relative dissatisfaction) - financial and attitudinal.
- (4) Work commitment of working wives - reasons for working.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) When the various financial reasons for work are compared, wives will be more likely to be committed to work in families that are experiencing financial difficulties than in families where finances have been on an even keel. Thus a past history of income reverses, husband's low income, plus expectations of financial reverses would make a wife more likely to be committed to work.
- (2) The higher a wife's current income (if she is working), the more likely she should be to continue, because of the greater rewards of her work.
- (3) If a woman has worked prior to marriage, she has job contacts and experience that make it easier to resume her work career. (Thus work experience prior to marriage will be positively related to work commitment.)
- (4) The higher the level of education, the more likely the attainment of a remunerative and intrinsically rewarding job. Thus level of education will be positively related to





work commitment.

- (5) Current pregnancy and the expectation of additional children will decrease a woman's future work commitment.
- (6) Women with older children and no expectation of additional children will be more likely to plan work careers.
- (7) Women with no children and no expectation of having children will be most likely to plan permanent work careers.
- (8) Because many wives' financial contributions are relatively small, other reasons for work will have a more important relation to work commitment:
  - (a) Satisfactions with the accomplishments derived from work will be more important than working to keep busy or to meet people since the latter satisfactions can be derived from other sources--such as clubs and neighborhood and group activities.
  - (b) Life satisfaction: wives who are most dissatisfied with their lot will be most likely to plan future work careers.

e) Findings

- (1) Using a multiple regression analysis, Hypotheses 1 and 2 were not supported.
- (2) Hypotheses 3 and 7 were not tested.
- (3) Hypothesis 4 was not supported. The higher the wife's level of education the less likely she was to plan a future work career, a finding directly contradictory to that predicted.
- (4) Hypothesis 5 was supported. Current pregnancy was the only important deterrent to future work plans for wives who were currently working.
- (5) Hypothesis 6 was supported. Nonworking women who had children 6 or older were more likely to plan to work in the future than women with younger children.
- (6) Hypothesis 8a received slight support. Reasons for work given by working wives in rank order of importance from most committed to least committed to work in future were: working to fill a need for accomplishment, working to meet people or to occupy time, helping in a family business, working because the family needs income, working to acquire assets.
- (7) Hypothesis 8b received slight support. Of the nonworking women, 13% who planned to work were dissatisfied with their lives, while 8% who did not plan to work were dissatisfied. However, 83% of all nonworking wives, whether they planned to work or not, were satisfied that their lives had worked out the way they wanted.

Fava, Sylvia Fleis, "The status of women in professional sociology," American Sociological Review, 25 (April, 1960), pp. 271-276.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: United States.





- (2) Who: students receiving degrees in Sociology and Humanities.
- (3) How: literature review of American Journal of Sociology and American Sociological Review (1949-1958); data gathered in 1952 by the American Council of Learned Societies in a national survey.
- b) Operational Definitions
  - (1) Sex differential in "mortality rates" - proportion of degrees granted to females at undergraduate, Master's, and Ph.D. levels.
  - (2) Active professional level - participation in professional activities measured for sociologists only by publication of articles and book reviews in the American Journal of Sociology and the American Sociological Review and participation at annual meetings of American Sociological Review; data on earnings and age for "equivalent" categories of male and female sociologists estimated to cover 40% of all professionally employed sociologists, including those working in applied sociology.
- c) Assumptions  
None stated.
- d) Hypotheses  
None stated.
- e) Findings
  - (1) Five patterns were identified in the nature of the differentials in the various fields covered by the survey: (a) education, a traditional women's field, with 59-83% of the undergraduate degrees being granted to women, dwindling to 16-18% of the Ph.D. degrees; (b) sociology and psychology, undergraduate degrees awarded in approximately equal numbers to males and females, 10-20% of the Ph.D.'s; (c) biology and history, which initially attract fewer women (20-33%) but number of Ph.D.'s the same as in sociology and psychology; (d) chemistry, economics, and political science, ranging from less than 20% of the undergraduate degrees to 5-10% of the Ph.D.'s; (e) physics, a traditional men's field, from 6% maximum at the undergraduate level to 3% maximum at the Ph.D. level. It was pointed out that a complete spectrum would include, for e.g., engineering, where the proportion of women earning degrees at any level is less than 1%.
  - (2) Participation in professional sociological activities as measured ranged from 2-17%. It was thus concluded that the "differential mortality" between the sexes is progressive.
  - (3) Six comparisons made by data on earnings and age for equivalent categories of male and female sociologists all showed a differential in favor of men, although in every case but one the median age of the women was greater than that of the men.



Kosa, John and Coker, Robert E., Jr., "The female physician in public health conflict and reconciliation of the sex and professional roles," Sociology and Social Research, 49 (1965), pp. 294-305.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: nationwide sample (U.S.).
- (2) Who: 525 physicians who at one point in their career worked in public health. Male and female respondents were similar in their socioeconomic origin, religion, medical education, and age.
- (3) How: not stated.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Professional role - admission to medical school, graduation from medical school, entrepreneurship (such features of medical practice as self-employment, independence in work, preference for money as the main reward of work, and willingness for hard work and competitiveness in matters of career).
- (2) Female role - marriage, demands of motherhood and homemaking.
- (3) Professional duties - continuous performance of medical duties; part-time vs. full-time employment; length of time in field.
- (4) Professional procedures to cope with role conflict - choice of medical fields at successive stages of career; 6-item Public Health Evaluation Scale.

c) Assumptions

- (1) In some professions (a) members of one sex tend to become predominant because the congruence of the two roles delineate for them suitable places of work, and, on the other hand (b) practitioners of the minority sex find the twofold roles more or less incompatible, experience a conflict between the professional and sex roles and have to employ specific means to reduce the conflict to a tolerable level.
- (2) As a general rule, the norms of our society greatly influence young people to assume their full sex roles in marriage at a rather early age, females doing so earlier than males. The professional role, on the other hand, counters this tendency since professional training, and higher education in general, lead to frequent deferment of marriage.

d) Hypotheses

Considering the problem of females as the minority sex in medicine:

- (1) The professional role tends to impose limitations upon the full realization of the female role.
- (2) The female role tends to limit the full realization of the professional role.
- (3) Female practitioners face particular difficulties in assuming those professional duties which are more or less incompatible with female tasks. (That is, female doctors tend to manage their professional career by selecting for





work those fields of medicine and that type of practice which are least likely to offer work duties incompatible with the female task.)

e) Findings

- (1) Women were more likely to defer marriage than males. Upon graduation (median age, 25) 37% of the males, 18% of the females were married; 46% of the males, 72% of the females were single, not engaged.
- (2) In every comparable position of the medical career, women worked on the average for a shorter time than men.
- (3) Sex differences existed in the pattern of part-time work. One-fourth of the women, none of the men, at one time in their career held only a part-time position. For the male, part-time work was an additional duty to a full-time position.
- (4) Less women than men were self-employed (73% vs. 56% worked in salaried positions); more women than men spent their total full-time work career in salaried positions (70% vs. 40%). Early marriage or engagement among males was associated with a tendency to select private practice with its generally higher income, but among females with the opposite practice of taking salaried positions.
- (5) Women on the whole had less professional income than men of comparable positions. They initially earned more in the first position in public health, last position in public health, and first position after leaving public health.
- (6) With respect to the entrepreneurial role, women were more likely than men to prefer close relationships with patients to large income, prefer new problems to large income, regard good income as of no importance in a job, regard regular and not extremely long working hours indispensable, prefer close relationships with patients to independence in work, dislike competition with other people when the stakes are high, regard the aid of experienced persons as important in job (all significant at .05 level or better, chi-square).
- (7) Females showed a consistent preference for selecting pediatrics as their choice of medical field, from the time of their first decision to become a physician to their present job (.01, chi-square, at all levels). At subsequent stages of career two additional fields appeared as preferential choices of women: maternal and child health as the first position after graduation (.05), and psychiatry as present position (.05).
- (8) Males and females received almost identical scores on the Public Health Evaluation Scale. However, sex differences in the features of public health found attractive suggested liberation from the entrepreneurial role and possible discharge of the female role were important considerations for females. Specifically females more often than males named the following reasons for entering public health: it provided an immediate source of income, it did not require building a practice, it meant regular and not extremely long working





- hours, it enabled a simplification of work and kept work load manageable, named the working hours as the most liked aspect of public health. Males more often than females named low salary as the least liked aspect of public health (all items significant at .01 level or better, chi-square).
- (9) Male physicians, differed according to their field, those entering public health tending to reject competitiveness, i.e., the entrepreneurial role (.05, chi-square). Female physicians, on the other hand, did not differ by field on these value items.

## 5. Extended Family and Community Roles

Slater, Carol, "Class differences in definition of role and membership in voluntary associations among urban married women," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May, 1960), pp. 616-619.

### a) Sample

- (1) Where: relatively urbanized areas of United States.
- (2) Who: 365 urban married women, aged 25 to 64, with employed husbands.
- (3) How: probability sample of dwelling units; interviews.

### b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Socioeconomic status - four strata based on husband's occupation.
- (2) Voluntary association membership - classified as members or nonmembers on basis of current membership in at least one voluntary association; church membership not counted.
- (3) Conflict between outside activities and housework - projective question.
- (4) Conception of role as a wife - respondents asked what they try to do, and try to avoid, as a wife.
- (5) Alternatives to housewife-mother role nexus - asked what things about self would not change, how could best please father and mother, adult ideal as a teenager, if ever had job considered as career, future work plans.

### c) Assumptions

None stated.

### d) Hypotheses

None stated.

### e) Findings

- (1) Participation greater among upper white collar than lower blue collar (.05) in terms of absolute membership and time.
- (2) Upper white collar respondents, those in the most active stratum, were most likely to choose the outside activity (going to a movie) in response to the projective question (.05).



- (3) In relation to their conception of role as a wife, upper white collar were more likely to stress maintenance of personal relationships (.10), lower blue collar routines of housekeeping (.05). Lower blue collar were more likely to stress physical neglect (.05) as the worst thing a woman could do if not a good mother; upper white collar, psychological rejection (.05).
- (4) Concerning alternatives to the housewife-mother role nexus, upper white collar respondents were less likely to mention familial roles as things about themselves they would not want to change (.05), less likely to say they could have pleased mother most by helping her (.05), more likely to say they could have pleased their father most by educational or occupational attainment (.05), more likely to identify a woman by occupation or a male figure as an ideal (.10), more likely to have had a job which they considered as a career (.05), and more likely to give nonfinancial reasons for wanting to work in the future (.01).

Gray, Robert M., and Smith, Ted C., "Effect of employment on sex differences in attitudes toward the parental family," Marriage and Family Living, 22 (February, 1960), pp. 36-38.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: urban community.
- (2) Who: 424 married couples, all of whom were gainfully employed full time.
- (3) How: area probability sample technique using City Directory; interviews.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Parental attachment - homesickness, and frequency of visiting.
- (2) Marital tensions in relations with parents - attitudes towards in-laws; effects of in-laws on marital relations.
- (3) Accessibility of family - distance lived from parents.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Attachment to one's parental family is greater for wives than for husbands.
- (2) Differences found to exist between married couples are due to the division of labor variable, in that the males are preoccupied with jobs which command their full attention, and, as a consequence, they do not feel homesick for, visit, or have the same attachment to parental families as do the married women.
- (3) Men's attitudes to their wives' parents would be more negative than the wives' attitudes to the parents of the men; similarly men more than women think that their in-laws weaken rather than strengthen their marriage.
- (4) Any difference concerning attachment to parents and ensuing problems concerning in-laws which conceivably might exist





between males and females would be partially due to the employment variable.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Fully employed married women develop greater attachments to their own parents than do their working husbands to their parents.
- (2) The female's greater attachment will be the source of more marital tensions for the couple in their relations with her parents than with the husband's parents.

e) Findings

- (1) Males and females were found to be living about the same distance from their parents, which ruled out accessibility of family as an intruding variable.
- (2) The first hypothesis was supported. Wives more frequently reported being homesick (.01, Chi-square), and saw their parents more often (.01) than did males.
- (3) The second hypothesis was not supported. More males than females felt their spouses' families had strengthened their marriage (.01), a finding opposite to that predicted.

Moore, Joan W., "Patterns of women's participation in voluntary associations," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (May, 1961), pp. 592-598.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Chicago.
- (2) Who: members of the women's boards of 3 upper-class (N = 60) and 3 middle-class hospitals (N = 70), all moderate to large in size, ranging from 220 to 820 beds.
- (3) How: A detailed case study, involving extensive interviewing, examination of board records, and a mailed questionnaire, made of one middle- and one upper-class board. Revised form of mailed questionnaire then sent to members of 4 other boards, following interviews with their presidents.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Upper- and middle-class hospital boards - ranking by society editors of 3 major Chicago newspapers.
- (2) Membership in other associations - active membership in other civic, philanthropic, and cultural organizations categorized as local or metropolitan.
- (3) Recruitment - how became interested in board.
- (4) Role of the new member - agreement or disagreement with statements that new member has difficulty finding way around, and has to wait awhile for satisfying work.
- (5) Member's activity - time spent on board activities, motherhood, husband's interest in board, ease of access to hospital.
- (6) Commitment to the board and motivation - members asked





which one of their associations they would retain if they had to give up all but one, and why.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) Members of upper-class boards belonged to a mean of 2.5 other associations and members of middle-class boards to a mean of 2.3. (This contradicts the findings of all other studies, that associational memberships increase substantially with social class.)
- (2) Upper-class boards followed a highly selective procedure in recruiting; middle-class boards a policy of open membership. Median age of recruit to upper-class board was 10 years younger than to middle-class board, early 30's vs. early 40's. Members in both groups had been active in associations in the past, i.e., had established a reputation for ability. Another upper-class principle of recruiting was kinship.
- (3) On the average, upper-class boards commanded a considerably greater amount of their members' time: 28% of the upper-class board members spent 60 hours or more per month on board activities compared with 9% of middle-class board members; whereas 20% of the upper-class board members spent less than 12 hours vs. 48% of the middle-class board members. Upper-class board members tended to live further from the hospitals.
- (4) Husbands' reported interest in the hospital was independent of the level of activity in middle-class boards, negatively related on upper-class boards. Length of service was associated with greater activity on upper-class boards, but not on middle-class boards.
- (5) More members of upper-class than of middle-class boards said they would retain the hospital if they had to give up all associations but one (76% vs. 53%). For all organizations belonged to, upper-class members were more likely to stress personal satisfaction (71% vs. 39%) and obligation to family role or tradition (26% vs. 11%); middle-class members to stress the relative value of the association's goals (52% vs. 40%); congeniality of fellow members (28% vs. 14%), and personal convenience or avoidance of undesirable features such as lack of "back-biting" or "social climbing" (15% vs. 5%).



Reiss, Paul J., "The extended kinship system: correlates of and attitudes on frequency of interaction," Marriage and Family Living, 24 (November, 1962), pp. 333-339.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: 2 middle-class census tracts in metropolitan Boston.
- (2) Who: 161 families whose middle-class character was confirmed by occupational data; 69 male and 92 female.
- (3) How: one adult interviewed in each of 127 families randomly selected from the 2 tracts; 34 additional respondents drawn from college students in the area whose families had similar characteristics.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Interaction frequency with kin - face-to-face frequency of interaction with kin up to and including first cousins.
- (2) Attitudes on interaction frequency - feelings of obligations, satisfaction with kin contact, desires concerning extended kinship interaction.
- (3) Common residence with kin - whether such a relationship had occurred and, if so, attitude towards it.

c) Assumptions

- (1) There is one type of arrangement which brings about a radical change in the structure of interaction. This is the situation of 2 or more nuclear families living in the same household. In general, the emphasis in America on the independence of the nuclear family is incompatible with common residence of extended kin. Especially is this the case in the urban American middle class. Common residence with extended kin for certain periods of time does occur, however, and is important in that the intensity of interaction in such a situation greatly exceeds that which takes place between extended kin under the usual circumstances.
- (2) The urban middle-class family system is most representative of American values.
- (3) This family type has emphasized more than others the isolation of the nuclear family from extended kin.

d) Hypotheses

None stated.

e) Findings

- (1) Ethnic background, family cycle phase, and age differences among respondents were not associated with differences in frequency of interaction.
- (2) There was little difference between male and female respondents in their frequency of interaction with kin. A slight matrilineal tendency did appear in the data such that females were in contact monthly with a slightly higher proportion of their relatives than were males, and maintained such interaction with a slightly lower percentage of their in-laws than did males.
- (3) The degree of kin relationship and the distance of residence together accounted for most of the variation of the frequency





of interaction. A positive relationship held for both when the other was held constant. Thus they were independent of each other with the residential variable having the closest relationship to frequency of interaction.

- (4) Although American kinship systems are statistically bilateral since mobility has a random effect on specific distances, kinship systems are not actually bilateral unless relatives of each degree of relationship live at approximately equal distances--rather they are ecologically structured.
- (5) Most respondents indicated at least a minimum obligation to maintain extended kinship interaction, women having a greater tendency to give an unqualified positive answer.
- (6) Concerning satisfaction with frequency of interaction, differences were particularly large considering females by family cycle. The younger women strongly tended toward a belief that their interaction with kin had been sufficient. Older female respondents felt the opposite.
- (7) Time-cost-distance factor was mentioned by 39% of the respondents as a factor determining kin contact; lack of common interests (personality, relative age, and presence or absence of children) by 73%.
- (8) Over half of the respondents indicated a preference for relatives to live in the same Metro area. There was a definite tendency to prefer relatives to live closer than they do, but, with the exception of older respondents, not in the same neighborhood.
- (9) Even in this upper middle-class sample, 2/3 had lived with relatives at some time, usually temporarily. About 1/2 indicated satisfaction with the relationship, 1/4 believed it a poor relationship and would not do it again.

Nye, F. Ivan, "Recreation and community," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 363-371.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: 3 Washington towns of from 10,000 to 30,000 population.
- (2) Who: 1993 mothers of children in grades 1 and 10 of the public and parochial schools; 265 mothers who had a child who had married within the past 2 years (typically in the 45-55 age interval).
- (3) How: Names and addresses of mothers obtained from school records and data collected by mailed questionnaire (78% response rate); method of selection of mothers in the "empty nest" stage not stated, nor whether there were younger children still left at home or not.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Maternal employment - not employed, employed part-time, employed full-time at time of interview.





- (2) Recreational patterns - items in 3 categories dichotomized by frequency: (a) visiting: chatting with people on block, attending parties, telephoning friends, visiting outside block, playing cards; (b) commercial recreation - playing water sports, going bowling, playing golf, playing tennis, dancing, attending movies; (c) family recreation: visiting relatives, playing organized games at home, having family picnics; watching TV, vacationing.
- (3) Community role - participation in formal organizations.
- (4) Mother-in-law role - frequency of interaction, giving advice, and loaning money.

c) Assumptions

- (1) Since the "provider role" takes so much time employed mothers would have less time available for the roles of friend and confidante to husband, playmate and confidante of children, community member, and mother-in-law.
- (2) Since the "provider role" is relatively dominant (or rigid), employed mothers will tend to reduce their recreational and community responsibilities in an attempt to reduce tensions produced by role conflict. Such curtailment could be expected if (a) recreational and community roles are less rigid than the provider role, and (b) recreational and community roles are not more rigid than other roles, such as supervisor and disciplinarian of children, house-keeper, and others in the wife-mother position. Those normative patterns within a role that compete directly in time with the provider role (usually from 8:00 to 5:00 p.m.) would be affected more than those not directly competing in time.
- (3) Recreation is functional insofar as it is related to the absence of nervous symptoms and to the presence of happiness and life satisfactions.
- (4) Intrafamilial recreation is curtailed when mothers take employment.

d) Hypotheses

Two alternate hypotheses were offered:

- (1) Employed mothers will take part in less visiting and more spectator recreation than mothers not employed.
- (2) Employed mothers participate less in all types of recreation, with greatest differences in visiting and least differences in spectator sports.

It will be noted that Hypothesis 1 requires the assumption that reduction in one type of recreation requires an increase in some other type; Hypothesis 2 does not.

- (3) If the role of provider occupies a major part of the time and energy of the mother-in-law and provides her with another set of interests, she should participate less in the family relationships of her former child, and the relationship between her and her son or daughter-in-law should be improved.



e) Findings

- (1) Recreational patterns of the active-stage mothers approximated those anticipated in Hypothesis 2.
- (2) The 4th assumption was not supported. Only one of the family recreation items revealed a significant difference between the 3 groups: nonemployed and part-time employed mothers spent more time watching TV.
- (3) Mothers of school age children did not differ appreciably in organizational membership by employment status; however, leadership did appear to be inversely related to employment. Older mothers participated less than younger mothers in community organizations; however, the employment status of older women was unrelated to either membership or leadership positions.
- (4) The data failed to support the 3rd hypothesis. All differences were small, and not all were in the anticipated direction.

Babchuk, Nicholas, "Primary friends and kin: a study of the associations of middle class couples," Social Forces, 43 (May, 1965), pp. 483-493.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Lincoln, Nebraska.
- (2) Who: 39 couples in each of 3 samples. All white, college trained, ranging in age from 19-58, married for varying lengths of time up to 36 years.
- (3) How: Two of the samples were purposively selected, the third randomly selected from a middle class homogeneous census tract. Structured interview schedule.

b) Operational Definitions

Primary friends - spouses, interviewed separately, asked to provide information on primary friends, indicate who had initiated such friendships, types of activities engaged in, frequency of visiting with them and with friends, role of children, maintenance of primary friends independent of each other. Reasons for disagreement, if any, discussed jointly.

c) Assumptions

None stated.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) The husband will initiate a greater number of mutual primary friendships shared by the couple than will his wife. (Very close friends of the male in the period prior to marriage are more likely to become mutual friends of the pair after marriage than very close friends of the female. Also, mutual friends developed subsequent to marriage are more likely to be introduced to the pair by the husband than the wife.)
- (2) Couples who have more extensive and frequent contact with kin will visit with primary friends less frequently. (Also,





more frequent interaction with kin will result in the couple having fewer mutual primary friends.)

- (3) Spouses who have primary friends apart from those shared will, as a result, have fewer primary friends in common.

e) Findings

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported, male superordination being more pronounced in the early period of the marriage. By the time a couple had been married 3 years, most of their friends were married and visiting and close friendships took place on a couple basis.
- (2) The second hypothesis was not supported. There were a number of couples who saw both relatives and primary friends frequently, others who saw either often but not both, and others who did not visit often with either.
- (3) The third hypothesis was not supported. About half the couples claimed not to have a single primary friend independent of their spouse. In the random sample there was a tendency for couples with 3 or more mutual friends also to have friends independent of each other, and for couples with 2 or less friends not to list any friends they did not share with their spouses.
- (4) Children were found not to be instrumental in initiating friendship contacts for their parents.

Aldous, Joan and Straus, Murray A., "Social networks and conjugal roles: a test of Bott's hypothesis," Social Forces, 44 (June, 1966), pp. 576-580.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: Minnesota.
- (2) Who: 391 married women, living on farms and in towns of at least 2,500 population, who had at least one child living at home. Sample comprised of 4 groups: 101 high income farm wives, 92 low income farm wives, 100 white-collar urban wives, 98 blue-collar urban wives.
- (3) How: interview and questionnaire data from a purposive sample.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Network connectedness - each respondent asked to name the 8 women she most often visited socially, and for each woman listed, how many of the other 7 reported also knew her.
- (2) Task differentiation - index based on tasks performed by husband or wife.
- (3) Power - index computed from asking "who had the final say" in 8 decisions.
- (4) Innovation and adoption - index of extent to which women were early or late adopters of various food and fabric innovations.

c) Assumptions

- (1) The individual's ties to the larger community have an effect





on boundary maintenance within the family.

- (2) If family members maintain ties with a network of friends, neighbors and relatives who know one another and interact apart from the family members, the members of this social network can develop norm consensus and exert pressure on the network's members. Individuals who are members of such close-knit networks when they marry and who, after marriage, continue to be drawn into network activities, can afford a conjugal role organization based on a clear differentiation of tasks with few shared interests or activities. If either needs instrumental assistance, he or she can call upon other members in the extra-family social network. The network's continuing emotional support also lessens the expressive demands each spouse needs to make of the other.
- (3) The conjugal role organization is different when few of the persons in an individual's social network know each other even though they maintain close relations with him. Such loose-knit networks develop less norm consensus. The members exert less social control over each other and provide less mutual assistance. Husbands and wives in such networks must turn to each other for the help and emotional satisfaction couples in close-knit networks receive from outsiders.
- (4) The following factors, assumed to be related to network closure, are more likely to characterize the experience of farm families: (1) absence of residential and social mobility, (2) few opportunities to develop social relationships outside the network, (3) similarity in the social class composition of the neighborhood, (4) economic ties among members of the network.
- (5) The boundary-maintenance property that networks possess through the interconnectedness of the members constitutes an obstacle to diffusion. That is, members of closed kinship networks develop norms resisting adoption of new ideas.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Network interconnectedness and a segregated conjugal role organization are directly related.
  - (a) Close-knit networks lessen conjugal interdependence and make for a segregated role organization. There is a complementary division of labor with the tasks of husband and wife clearly separated. Each has a number of different interests and leisure activities.
  - (b) Husbands and wives with loose-knit networks maintain a joint conjugal role relationship with a minimum of task differentiation. Doing things together carries over to leisure time activities where they possess common interests.
- (2) The following are associated with the degree of social network connectedness:



- (a) Rural as opposed to urban residence.
- (b) Low as opposed to high socioeconomic status.
- (c) The degree of conjugal task differentiation.
- (d) Conjugal division of labor based on traditional conceptions of sex roles.
- (e) Power exercised by the husband in family decision-making.
- (f) There is an inverse relation between the degree of social network connectedness and the adoption of new household practices.

e) Findings

- (1) On the average each of the 8 closest associates named by the respondents knew only about 2 of the other women listed. At the two poles were 2 women who possessed completely open networks, and 3 women with completely closed networks.
- (2) A 2-way analysis of variance with unequal cell frequencies confirmed Hypothesis 2a, of greater network closure among farm as compared with urban families (.01). However, 2b was rejected as the socioeconomic results were in the opposite direction from that hypothesized.
- (3) Hypotheses 1, 2c, 2e, and 2f were not supported.
- (4) Hypothesis 2d was partially supported. In the area of sex role-specific activities, for female household activities, high network closure was associated with a greater exclusive performance of these activities only among the more prosperous farm wives. For child socialization activities and performance of male tasks the social network factor had no effect.

Nelson, Joel I., "Clique contacts and family orientations," American Sociological Review, 31 (October, 1966), pp. 663-672.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: New Haven, Connecticut.
- (2) Who: 125 working-class urban Caucasian women, ranging in age from 33 to 48, who had only been married once, and had at least one child over 5 years old; 42% classified as having clique contacts and 58% as having individualistic contacts.
- (3) How: random selection from list of 50% of marriage licenses filed in the municipality of New Haven for the years 1948, 1949, and 1950; interviews.

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Working-class - Class IV in Hollingshead's two-factor index of social class.
- (2) Extra-familial contacts - respondents asked to name the 4 individuals she saw most frequently in her leisure time, with the only restriction being that they not be married to each other. Those who saw 2 or more of the same





individuals together at least once every week were classified as having clique contacts; otherwise as having individualistic contacts.

- (3) Patterns of informal interaction - circumstances under which they met their spouses, membership in voluntary organizations, relative influence of opinions of family and friends vs. outside sources, gossiping, influences on political opinions.
- (4) Family orientations - one thing which respondents did "demand" from their husbands classified as instrumentally or social-emotionally oriented; index based on 2 questions each of which posed 4 alternative conceptions of marital goals and roles, 2 instrumental and 2 traditional.
- (5) Marital satisfaction - feelings about husband's understanding.

c) Assumptions

- (1) There exists a "lump of sociability", i.e., a stable fund of intimacy, sociability, or informal communication which every person possesses; and over some unspecified period of time, persons expend a constant amount of this fund. Man demands and is able to provide only limited quantities of intimate or informal interaction.
- (2) This "lump of sociability" may be used as the theoretical base for developing connections between the internal and external relationships of families. Two types of extra-familial contacts can be distinguished: in a loosely-knit network only two persons at a time know each other; in a tightly-knit network all persons know each other well.
- (3) Tightly-knit networks demand considerable amounts of informal involvement from an individual and individuals are placed in the position of expending almost their entire fund in this network. Since funds are limited, spouses will consequently not make extensive intimate or informal demands on each other. This tendency is reversed, however, if the family is in contact with a loosely-knit network. These networks do not (or cannot) demand extensive involvement from individuals, and husbands and wives expend nearly their entire fund on themselves.

d) Hypotheses

- (1) Wives participating in clique relations are less likely than those with individualistic relations to conceive of their immediate family in companionate terms.
- (2) Wives maintaining either (a) companionate conceptions, or (b) persons with cliques, in cliques, are more likely to be satisfied with the emotional tenor of their marriage than (a) persons without cliques and companionate conceptions, and (b) persons with cliques in addition to companionate conceptions.

e) Findings

Using a 1-tailed Chi-square test of significance:

- (1) The first hypothesis was supported. 66% of the wives not participating in cliques thought that their husbands should





be involved in social emotional activities compared to 41% of those engaged in clique contacts (.05). Companionate family orientations were more likely to be selected by wives with individualistic contacts than by wives with clique contacts (.05).

- (2) The second hypothesis was supported. Satisfaction with family life was more frequently expressed when there was a clique or a companionate family (.05).

Angrist, Shirley S., "Role constellation as a variable in women's leisure activities," Social Forces, 45 (March, 1967), pp. 423-431.

a) Sample

- (1) Where: women's college of a coeducational university.
- (2) Who: 245 female alumnae distributed in 5 modal categories:
  - A - 30 single, working full-time, mean age 31 years.
  - B - 26 married, living with husband, childless, working at least half-time, mean age 28 years.
  - C - 68 married, living with husband, preschool children only, not working.
  - D - 74 married, living with husband, preschool and school age children, not working, mean age 36.5 years.
  - E - 47 married, living with husband, school age children only, not working, mean age of 37.3 years.
- (3) How: 420 women composing 4 classes of alumnae (1949, 1950, 1959, 1960) contacted by mail questionnaire (75.7% return rate).

b) Operational Definitions

- (1) Life-cycle stage role constellations - respondents, distinguished in terms of marital status, distributed in 5 modal categories as outlined above.
- (2) Leisure participation - Inventory of Leisure Activity of 38 activity areas ranging from organizational activities, recreation, and self-enrichment activities; pretested.

c) Assumptions

Certain role constellations have a high probability of occurring in sequential order for certain individuals, while others remain characteristic for much of a person's adult life.

d) Hypothesis

Life-cycle stage with its characteristic constellation or set of roles affects both amount and type of leisure activity.

e) Findings

Using Chi-square as the test of significance:

- (1) The proportion of women living in a city over 250,000 and majoring in the sciences and humanities steadily decreased in categories A through E (.01).
- (2) The general hypothesis was only partially supported:
  - (a) The 5 role constellation categories did not differ



- significantly in overall leisure activity scores.
- (b) When role categories were compared in terms of specific types of activity, they differed significantly in community welfare participation (.001), but not in recreation or self-enrichment activities. In community welfare, activity scores tended to increase from A through E.
  - (c) Single working women (A) were comparatively high in fine arts activities (.01), while the childless married working women were comparatively high in movie-going (.01) and spectator sports (.05).
  - (d) The youngest mothers (C) with only preschool age children were comparatively highest in TV watching (.05), hobbies (.001), and informal visiting (.01).
  - (e) Within the 3 categories of mothers, total leisure participation increased as one moved from those with preschool and school age children to those with children only of school age (C through E). With both household help and child care help controlled, the differences among the 3 categories of mothers were eliminated (28% had regular household help, 57% regular child care help).



## CHAPTER V

### ADULT FEMALE SEX ROLES

#### B. Empirical Generalizations: A Codification of Contemporary Research

##### 1. Introduction

In the discussion of female sex-role learning and development, the major conceptual distinction invoked was that between personality traits and role behaviors. In part this distinction is inherent in the manner in which the process of socialization is commonly viewed, of the individual child as a pliable being in the "process of becoming" a full-fledged member of society. The assumption is made that not only are discrete role behaviors learned and practiced, but also that these are internalized and generalized into a more or less permanent core, the self-concept. While the principle of interaction is invoked as an explanatory concept, emphasis tends to be placed on the effect of such socializing agents as parents, peers, and siblings on the child. This, in turn, has fostered an emphasis on only one direction of the interaction, with the child being the recipient of the action. In terms of variable analysis, this may be restated by saying that the child's personality traits or role behaviors have been invariably chosen as the dependent variables in the study of sex-role learning and development, whereas some aspect of family structure is selected as the independent variable.

It must also be pointed out, however, that such a unidirectional emphasis is not inevitable in the study of childhood socialization. In the study of pathological disturbances or delinquency, for example, the necessity of taking the child's perception of the situation into account





may be more sharply thrown into focus, especially if the interest is in changing such disruptive behavior.

The importance of the foregoing distinction becomes apparent as the focus of inquiry is shifted from female sex-role learning and development to a consideration of adult female sex roles. In the latter area, rather than research being organized in terms of the effect of various structural variables on the female, interest has centered on three types of relationships: (1) the performance of the female in the various roles that are available to her, (2) the impact of her performance in one role on her performance in another role, or (3) the influence of her perception of some aspect of a role on other aspects of the same role. An example of the first type of inquiry would be the participation of females in particular career patterns (Fava, pp. 167-168); of the second, the relationship between employment status and power relations or task allocation in the family (Blood and Wolfe, et al., pp. 128-141); and, of the third, the relationship between the congruency of self-spouse concepts and marital happiness (Luckey, pp. 106-107; 109-110). In terms of variable analysis, some aspect of the female's role behavior or personality traits is selected as the independent variable in studies focussing on adult female sex roles. This, it will be remembered, is in sharp contrast to research focussed on female sex-role learning and development where personality traits or role behaviors were invariably chosen as the dependent variable.

In general, then, the primary distinction is that research studies focussing on sex-role learning and development tend to emphasize



the individual female as the recipient of the action, whereas studies focussing on adult sex roles tend to regard the female as the actor in the situation. As was the case with sex-role learning and development, however, it will be recognized that such a distinction is not necessarily inherent in the study of adult female sex roles. As Brim has pointed out, the process of socialization can be viewed as extending throughout the life cycle, with the emphasis shifting as the individual matures from a concern with the control of primary drives to a concern with secondary or learned motives generated by the expectations of significant others.<sup>1</sup> In this sense one could speak of the adult female as being socialized into the role of marriage, or of a career. In this sense also the same organizational framework as was employed in Chapter III could be employed in the present Chapter, examining personality traits and role behaviors as they are shown to vary with differential participation in marriage and career roles.

However, it is believed to be preferable to take an alternate stance, to invoke the second conceptual distinction outlined in Chapter I, and to consider the findings of the group of studies concerned with adult female sex roles in terms of their primary focus on the role of marriage or career. Such an approach better serves to emphasize the interactional nature of the female's participation in these two systems. As Ginzberg has pointed out, career patterns of males may be studied by placing the career at the center of the analysis, paying only incidental attention to their lives off the job, whereas in studying the career patterns of females it must always be borne in mind that decisions in one arena may have a far greater impact on the other.<sup>2</sup>



## 2. General Hypotheses

In the discussion of sex-role learning and development, an attempt was made to generate a set of internally consistent hypotheses which would both account for the manner in which learning itself occurs, through interaction, and to postulate some of the differences in group structure which would affect the specific content of such learning. Primary importance was assigned the family as the mediator of such learning due to its primacy as the first social system internalized by the child, its persistence as a meaningful group membership through time, and the restrictions which it imposes on the child's freedom of action. The restrictions upon action imposed by the family arise from both the normative and legal expectations that the child must remain a family member through late adolescence, generally until her leave-taking from the public school system. Unless adult members of the family group are proven grossly incapable, the child is not only affectively but also ecologically bound to her family membership, and therefore also to some extent restricted by it.

### a. Social-Psychological Implications of Adult Status

One of the primary distinctions which can be drawn between the status of child and that of adult is therefore that the individual upon reaching legal adult status is no longer legally bound to the dictates of her family of orientation. It is usually at the point of leaving the public school system for further education, employment, or marriage that the female becomes an autonomous member of society. This is, of course, not to state that there is necessarily a sharp break





in the affectual or behavioral relationship of the female to her family. It is recognized that many females may have been exercising autonomy of personal action prior to the legally recognized stage of transition, whereas others may continue to be dependent on their families with respect to decision-making long afterwards.

What is important is that at the age of fifteen or sixteen the individual is legally recognized as both being capable of making her own decisions and of being responsible for them once they are made. This legal distinction represents a qualitative distinction between stages of the life cycle, a distinction which is roughly reflected in the nature of the formulation of sociological inquiry. Concern no longer centers as exclusively on the manner in which primary drives are modified or channelled, but tends to be increasingly concerned with how secondary or learned drives predispose adult females to select the social systems in which they will become engaged, and how their perceptions of self and of significant others affect their role in any given social system once they have elected to participate in it.

It has been pointed out previously that such a discrete distinction is more real in theory than in practice, in law than in social science. As the child matures she gains increasingly effective control over the peer groups and extra-curricular activities in which she will or will not engage. However, to the extent that legal residential restriction to her family of orientation curtails her freedom of choice, the transition to adult status marks that point at which the nature of the choices available to her and the choices she does make assume greater importance than the structure of the family to which



she has heretofore been confined.

This line of reasoning can be summarized in the following hypotheses, adapted from the studies by Turner (pp. 91-92), Hurvitz (p. 109), Kotlar (pp. 120-121), and Schmitt (pp. 125-126):

Hypothesis 23: In the course of the process of socialization, the individual absorbs, to a greater or lesser degree, the standards and ideals of her family group so that they become effective motivating forces in her own conduct, independently of external sanctions. Adult behavior will consist primarily of an acting out of these standards and ideals to the extent that they are compatible with new social systems in which she becomes engaged. Roles serve as the norms that guide the individual in her relationships with others in these new social systems.

Hypothesis 24: The adult female's behavior is determined by the particular way in which she perceives herself, and by her attitudes toward herself. Few perceptions are made without some sort of context so that what is involved is a quality of perception of reality, interpreted in the context of interpersonal relationships. Thus, the impressions an individual entertains of another's personality, as well as that personality per se, are important to their interpersonal relationships.

Hypothesis 25: Of paramount importance is the interplay of self-perception (standards and ideals) and the social milieu (social class position) in which available roles must be enacted. The family, both of orientation and procreation, mediates the impact of social class position in two ways:

- (1) The family may create the typical life situations (behavioral) for each member, or a situation which is atypical for members of the social stratum.
- (2) The family transmits a subculture (attitudinal) which either corresponds to the family's position or deviates from it.

Hypothesis 26: Persons with a low degree of role or status congruency, either in the family of orientation or of procreation, are more likely to be subjected to disturbing experiences in the interaction process and have greater difficulty in establishing rewarding patterns of social interaction than others. Variables associated with incongruency including psychosomatic illness, withdrawal, and desire for social change can be viewed as reactions to these disturbing experiences.



b. Role Choice as a Range of Options

The alternative roles available to the contemporary female have received widespread attention over the past two decades. At one extreme these roles have been represented as a polarized choice between the roles of marriage and career, with the necessity of the female choosing between them accorded the status of a social problem.<sup>3</sup> However accurate such a representation may have been at a time when relatively few married women were employed if their husbands were also gainfully employed, as increasingly large numbers of married women have entered the labor force such a combination of roles is no longer regarded as particularly deviant. Accordingly the point of view which has been widely gaining in acceptance is that the female simply has a wider range of options available to her than does the male (Weil, pp. 164-166).<sup>4</sup> The nature of this wider range of options resides in the fact that, especially for the better-educated middle-class female, she may elect any one of several combinations of roles in the internal system of the family and the external social systems of occupation and community. Stress may be engendered for some females if segments of these roles prove incompatible with each other, or with internalized expectations, but it is doubtful if such conflict is so widespread or intense that it deserves the label of a social problem. Also, while it has to some extent remained popular to refer to the female's choice as that between a traditional and a modern role (Kammeyer, pp. 47-48, 48-49, 94-95), it is thought that such a conceptualization is too gross an oversimplification of a complex area. The number of types of role combinations is infinitely large, but it seems necessary to distinguish





at least three variants which are qualitatively quite distinct:

Hypothesis 27: Three broad types of roles are available to the contemporary female:

(1) The housewife-mother role wherein the role expectations are centered exclusively on the internal system of the nuclear family. Contacts with external social systems are limited almost exclusively to extended family visiting or daytime visiting with girlfriends. Remunerative employment outside the home will be associated with inadequacy of husband as a provider, i.e., with economic necessity of a severe nature. Such a pattern will tend to be associated with lower (working) class status, especially for those within this status ranking having lower levels of educational attainment (i.e., less than high school completion).<sup>5</sup> Such a pattern may be sanctioned, or at least not regarded as deviant, among middle-class respondents with children of preschool age. However, where such a pattern is found among middle class respondents without preschool children, it will be contrary to the generalized norm of self-fulfillment prevalent in this strata, and will tend to be associated with dysfunctional consequences (examples which might be postulated are infidelity, alcoholism, and psychosomatic symptoms).

(2) The companionship role wherein the role expectations are centered primarily, but not exclusively, on the internal system of the nuclear family. The defining feature is that while housewife-mother expectations are regarded as of primary importance, such a role carries a definite expectation that the female will also be a friend to her husband and be engaged in some endeavor extending beyond the nuclear family. Many variants of this role are possible: the woman who assists her husband's career by extensive entertaining; the woman who is engaged in community or club organizations; the woman who is employed part-time or who exhibits an interrupted career pattern (perhaps due to her devoting full time to homemaking while her children are young); the woman who possesses a specialized skill which affords a source of remuneration in the home, for example as seamstress, piano or voice instructor, or tutor; the woman who enjoys superior skill in some amateur endeavor such as sports or painting.

(3) The career or partner role (respectively, depending on whether or not it is combined with marriage) in which role expectations are centered primarily on gainful employment in the external system. Such a career pattern will tend to be associated with a cluster of variables which Kosa, Rachiele, and Schommer (pp. 96-97) have termed "privileged status", a composite ranking of high socioeconomic status and scholastic aptitude, and to which we would add: socialization in a family of orientation which was small in size, in which the female was an only child or had only cross-sex siblings, and in which mother and other female relatives were employed full-time. For the married female, it would also tend to be associated with approval and encouragement by her husband; and if such encouragement was lacking with high marital dissatisfaction and a higher divorce rate. In short, this is the woman who will follow a typically masculine, full-time, uninterrupted career pattern.<sup>6</sup>



The similarity between these types of roles, and the measures of ambition employed by Turner (pp. 97-100) will be noted. Educational ambition would be expected to be associated with the companionship and career roles as outlined above, but not with the housewife-mother role. Some interesting parallels between the aspirations of men and women are suggested: (1) that some members of both sexes may have relatively low levels of ambition, (2) that educational ambition for both sexes may be valued as an end in itself for the achievement of a cultured style of life, (3) that educational ambition for men when regarded as the means to high occupational and material status corresponds to educational ambition for women when regarded as the means to securing husbands through whom to realize their other (material) ambitions (i.e., desire for prestige or extrinsic rewards), and (4) that the desire for eminence in a career for men corresponds to the woman's desire for a career for herself (i.e., desire for esteem or intrinsic rewards). Investigation along these lines might serve to suggest similarities in the career patterns of men and women which have heretofore remained elusive.

c. Mate Selection as the Process Whereby the Female Moves Into the Marriage Role

---

The three types of role patterns outlined suggest possible variables for investigation in the study of mate selection which are not taken into account in the studies surveyed. Seemingly unrelated to the problem of role choice, the study of mate selection potentially provides an area for the study of the process whereby the female moves into the marriage role, and a study of the factors which facilitate or impede the realization of her ambitions with respect to the adult





roles she projects for self. Kammeyer's study of attitude consistency (pp. 94-95) suggests that for college girls amount of interaction in the college milieu is positively related to consistency between beliefs about female personality traits and feminine role behavior, amount of interaction being measured by either number of friends reported, frequency of dating, or frequency of parental contact. Further investigation might serve to illustrate the direction of such attitude change, whether and for whom it serves to reinforce or negate projections of goals for self, and subsequent influence on homogamy or heterogamy in mate selection. It might, for example, be suggested that relatively low interaction in the college milieu might tend to be associated both with greater attitudinal inconsistency and higher rate of heterogamy in mate selection; similarly, such a prediction might also be found generalizable to noncollege populations.

The studies by Kerkhoff and Davis (pp. 100-101), and Snyder (pp. 101-102, 102-103) suggest that for college and high school populations respectively, there may be an initial screening process, or homogamy in mate selection, with respect to such variables as value consensus on family standards, self- and social-adjustment, and I.Q. In addition respondents in these studies were relatively homogamous with respect to such social attributes as race, religion, socioeconomic status, age, and level of education.<sup>7</sup> However, Kerkhoff and Davis' study further suggests that if a couple survives the earlier stages of courtship despite having low value consensus on family standards, then heterogamy or complementarity of personality needs will be an important principle in selection. This line of reasoning may be





summarized as follows:

Hypothesis 28: For the female in late adolescence, frequency of interaction with same-sex friends, dating, and parental contact will be positively associated with congruency of attitudes toward feminine role behavior and female personality traits. Homogamy in mate selection will tend to function upon a field of eligibles, consisting not only of social attributes such as race, religion, socioeconomic status, and level of education, but also of similarity in beliefs about feminine personality traits and female role behaviors. For example, the female who aspires to a career role for self will tend to select and be selected by a mate who perceives marriage in terms of a partnership. Further such a male will tend to have had a mother who was gainfully employed full-time, and whose father was supportive of her role.

The foregoing hypothesis is not meant to be particularly definitive of the selective procedures involved in mate selection, but rather to point to an area of value consensus with respect to the female role upon which homogamy may function. More detailed inquiry would require a longitudinal design relating such homogamy in mate selection to subsequent marital satisfaction or stress. Axelson's study (pp. 116-117) suggests husbands of working wives feel less threatened by their wives' actual employment, than husbands of nonworking wives perceive they would be by their wives' hypothetical employment--but, of course, it cannot be ascertained whether such support facilitated wives' employment or was a consequence of it.

### 3. Specific Hypotheses Relating to Marital Interaction

With respect to Hypothesis 24, that the perceptions which an individual entertains of another's personality, as well as that personality per se, are important to their interpersonal relationships, the data on marital satisfaction-dissatisfaction tends to be highly supportive, especially for females. An initial hypothesis can be



stated as follows:

Hypothesis 29: The roles of wife-mother and husband-father have four aspects or valences:

- (1) each spouse's performance of his own role-set;
- (2) each spouse's expectation of how the other will perform his role-set;
- (3) the modal performance of role-sets by marriage partners in the same social milieu (social class position); and
- (4) the modal expectation of how role-sets will be performed by marriage partners in the same social milieu (social class position).

a. The Relationship of General Role Components to Marital Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction

Of these aspects or valences of the role components for the wife-mother and husband-father positions, the fourth, modal expectations for generalized others, appears unrelated to marital satisfaction-dissatisfaction, at least for middle-class respondents. Hurvitz (pp. 104-105), employing a middle-class middle-aged sample, found no relationship between the congruency of role expectations for spouse and modal expectations for mate's generalized role with marital satisfaction. Kotlar (pp. 110-112), also employing a middle class sample but of slightly younger respondents, similarly found adjusted and unadjusted spouses did not differ in terms of conceptualization of ideal husband and wife roles. For both groups (i.e., adjusted and unadjusted), the ideal marital role of the husband was perceived to contain more instrumental role attitudes than the ideal marital role for the wife; the ideal marital role of the wife was perceived to contain more expressive role attitudes than the ideal marital role of the husband. These findings suggest that what is being tapped are middle-class cultural ideals which will be held by all respondents in the social milieu of the middle class.<sup>8</sup>



In contrast to this generally negative finding with respect to the usefulness of the perception of generalized marital roles as a predictive variable, the other three hypothesized aspects of marriage roles have been demonstrated to have such predictive utility. Furthermore, the consistency of the findings with different populations and different measures lends strong support to their generalizability. Hurvitz (pp. 104-105, 109, 122-123), Luckey (pp. 106-107, 109-110), and Kotlar (pp. 110-112, 120-121) with middle-class couples married for varying lengths of time, found that marital satisfaction tended to be associated with congruency between husband's role performance and wife's expectations, and with congruency between wife's perception of husband and his own self-perception. The converse, however, did not hold, i.e., marital satisfaction did not tend to be associated with the accuracy of the husband's perceptions of his wife. Furthermore, Luckey found a similar relationship to hold with respect to spouses' perception of selves and same-sex parent, and perception of spouses and opposite-sex parent. Stuckert (pp. 118-119) extended the finding to a random sample not preselected as to middle class status.

The findings appear puzzling in view of the fact that Hurvitz also found a tendency for congruency of role performance and expectations of one spouse to be associated with congruency of role performance and expectations of the other spouse; and that Luckey also found less satisfied couples had greater discrepancy scores than did satisfied couples in all comparisons when five pairs of concepts (self and self as marked by spouse, self and ideal self, self and parent of same sex, spouse and parent of opposite sex, and spouse and





ideal self) were rated on four scales of the Interpersonal Check List. Stuckert's use of factor analysis to identify marital types suggests the resolution of these findings: marital satisfaction tends to be associated with real similarity between spouses; when such real similarity does not pertain, marital satisfaction will be associated with accuracy of wife's perception of husband, but not with accuracy of husband's perception of wife. We may summarize as follows:

Hypothesis 30: The character of the male, both parental and spousal, with respect to role performance and personality traits, is a more dominant factor in marital satisfaction than is the character of the female.

- (1) Marital satisfaction will tend to be associated with a shared common view of marriage, i.e., when role expectations are similar, accuracy of perception will not be related to marital satisfaction.
- (2) As real similarity between husband and wife decreases, marital satisfaction will be associated with:
  - (a) inaccuracy of husband's perception of wife's expectations,
  - (b) accuracy of wife's perception of husband's role expectations, and congruency between wife's expectations and husband's role performance,
  - (c) congruency between husbands' perception of selves and fathers,
  - (d) congruency between wives' perception of husbands and fathers.

The findings also suggest that the greater real congruency between spouses in happily married couples arises from an expansion of the traditional male and female roles to incorporate elements of the other. Combining the results reported by Luckey (pp. 106-107, 109-110) and Kotlar (pp. 110-112, 120-121):

Hypothesis 31: Regardless of marital satisfaction, husbands will perceive themselves and be perceived by their wives as being higher in traditional masculinity (as measured by role components of instrumentality or dominance); wives will perceive themselves and be perceived by their husbands as being higher in traditional femininity (as measured by the role components of expressiveness and loving qualities). However, satisfied husbands and wives will perceive both masculine and feminine qualities in themselves, their spouses, and their parents whereas less satisfied husbands and wives will tend to perceive these roles only in terms of their traditional polarities.



Dominance, as measured by Kotlar (pp. 120-121) referred to the qualities of efficiency, self-confidence, responsibility, competence, and independence. It should therefore not be confused with the traditional meaning of the word "domineering". In light of this terminological clarification, it is further interesting to note the differences in rank ordering of happily and unhappily married middle-class spouses on these traits. Husbands, whether happily or unhappily married, do not differ in their self perceptions on the masculine traits of instrumentality or dominance, nor do their wives perceptions of them on these traits differ. Thus husbands rank highest on the masculine traits of instrumentality and dominance, followed by happily married wives, and unhappily married wives. The picture with respect to the traditional feminine traits of expressiveness and love is quite different. Happily married wives rank highest on these traits, followed by happily married husbands, unhappily married wives, and unhappily married husbands. Thus, not only do happily married couples tend to see instrumental and expressive characteristics in both sexes whereas unhappily married couples see instrumental characteristics in males and expressive characteristics in females, but the unhappily married wives show the greatest paucity of any high ranking personality traits. This is taken as further support of Hypothesis 30, that the character of the male is a more dominant factor in marital satisfaction than is the character of the female.

The notion of counterbalancing of personality traits as a factor in marital satisfaction was employed by Pickford (p. 127) in his study of three known groups of married couples classified as



happily married, having trouble, and on the verge of separation. Since respondents were selected from both lower and middle socioeconomic strata, his findings serve to extend the range of generalizability of the above findings as well as to provide a clue as to why the character of the male is the more dominant factor. He found that not only were the personality traits of husbands and wives more congruent in the happily married group, but also that the pattern of the differences was quite different. In the happily married group couples differed on three out of ten personality traits as measured by the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, husbands scoring higher than wives on masculinity and ascendancy, wives higher than husbands on friendliness. In the having trouble group, couples showed less congruence, differing on five traits, but again higher scores of husbands on three traits was counterbalanced by higher scores of wives on two. Thus it was inferred that although greater real differences tended to produce a more stressful relationship, the complementary nature of these differences enabled them to continue their marriage in spite of the tension engendered. For couples on the verge of separation, however, while differences in traits were quantitatively the same as in the having trouble group, husbands were dominant on all five traits. Furthermore, in the having trouble group the two traits on which wives did score higher than husbands were friendliness and sociability, traditional feminine qualities. In the group which was on the verge of separation, on the other hand, the five traits on which husbands scored higher were all traditionally masculine traits: masculinity, ascendancy, general activity, emotional stability, and objectivity.





While between groups comparisons were not provided by sex of respondents, it seems reasonable to hypothesize the rank orderings would be consistent with those previously outlined.

The study by Buerkle, Anderson and Badgley (pp. 107-108) of altruism, the tendency to favor the other, provides a warning against the tendency to interpret the relationship between marital satisfaction and husband-wife congruency without taking situational variables into account. Thus, while mutual altruism tended to be associated with marital satisfaction in general, a negative claim on this hypothesis was presented when the norm of social conformity was salient. Thus, in hypothetical situations where the husband wished to violate some social norm (e.g., child isn't doing well at school and wife wants him to study more whereas husband thinks it more important for him to play with friends), adjusted husbands manifested greater concern for social conformity than unadjusted husbands, and adjusted wives were more egoistic than unadjusted wives in that they also expected their husbands to conform to middle class norms. In this instance, then, adjusted husbands and wives were not congruent with respect to the personality trait of altruism, but they did both exhibit greater congruency to middle class norms. This suggests a possible negative claim on Hypothesis 30, that where violations of norms are invoked the character of the wife may be the more dominant factor in marital satisfaction. Further investigation along these lines would doubtless serve to add considerably to the body of knowledge concerning the relationship between marital interaction and marital satisfaction.



This group of studies does, however, offer fairly substantial evidence against the model of family interaction as proposed by Parsons in terms of a single instrumental-expressive dimension.<sup>9</sup> It appears fairly obvious that these are two separate dimensions, and hence do not have the "more-less" quality that Parsons has assigned to them, i.e., an increase in one dimension will not necessarily be accompanied by a decrease in the other. Such a model may be valid in a society where an increase in the wife's instrumental traits, for example, would be construed as a threat to her husband's authority, and consequently to his ego and the stability and satisfaction of their marriage. It is not, however, valid in contemporary society where such a situation does not necessarily exist.

b. The Relationship of Status Congruency to Marital Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction

With respect to Hypothesis 26, that persons with a low degree of role or status congruency are more likely to have difficulty in establishing rewarding patterns of interaction than others, the confirmatory data examined thus far has tended to deal with congruency of perceptions, role behaviors, and personality traits. The studies by Schmitt (pp. 125-126), Blood and Wolfe (pp. 128-131), and Michel (pp. 131-132) provide support for this interpretation with respect to status dimensions as well. Thus, Blood and Wolfe's Detroit study and Michel's study in Paris and Bordeaux, France, both found a curvilinear pattern emerged with relation to the comparative educational levels of husband and wife. Marital satisfaction of the wife was



highest when the spouses were equally educated, decreasing when the husband was either more or less educated than the wife. The decrease was greater when the husband had less education than the wife. On the other hand, Schmitt, using the three status dimensions of wife's education, husband's income and occupation, found that with socioeconomic status controlled, women with incongruent statuses tended to be more liberal than those whose statuses were congruent. In this instance, then, we have an example of the disruptive consequences of husband-wife incongruency being projected outwards against the external political system as reflected in a desire for political change, rather than inwards against the internal system of the family as in the previously discussed examples of marital dissatisfaction.

At least one other possibility exists, that the disruptive consequences of incongruency will be turned inwards against the self. This possibility has not been investigated in the studies surveyed. Consequently this prediction, as well as investigation of which types of females will evince which patterns (or which types of incongruencies), awaits empirical validation and investigation. Similarly, the relationship of husband-wife congruency of perceptions, role behaviors, and personality traits to their congruency on status dimensions raises an interesting and heretofore unexplored area for further investigation which would provide substantial additions to the present body of knowledge concerning the relationship between marital interaction and marital satisfaction.





c. The Relationship of Role Sharing to Marital Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction

---

Turning from our examination of the dysfunctional consequences of status incongruencies to an examination of the relationship between marital satisfaction and role-sharing, the limited data available suggests a similar relationship holds as was outlined in Hypotheses 30 and 31 with respect to congruency of perception. That is, in both Detroit (Blood and Wolfe, pp. 128-131) and France (Michel, pp. 131-132) there was a trend for the marital satisfaction of the wife to increase with husband's increased participation in household tasks, and for marital satisfaction to be highest when decisions were equally taken by both members. Apparently the tendency for marital satisfaction to be associated with congruency of role expectations, and an expansion of the traditional male and female roles to incorporate elements of the other, is concomitant with an association between wife's marital satisfaction and congruency of role behaviors. It will be noted that husbands were not interviewed in these two studies, but the consistency of the data thus far would lead us to predict a similar finding for them.

A difference was noted in the relationship between marital satisfaction and husbands' increased participation in household tasks in the two countries, however. In France the relationship was positive and linear when husbands' participation was classified by no, a little, medium, or a great deal of help, i.e., when a subjective ranking was employed. In Detroit, where comparisons were based on the absolute number of tasks shared, a positive linear relationship between no and



three tasks shared was followed by a sharp drop when four or more tasks were shared. This was interpreted by Blood and Wolfe as a possible consequence of stressful conditions under which pervasive help becomes necessary, as for example with joint employment or when there are many young children present. This difference could have been obscured by the subjective ranking employed by Michel, and empirical validation of this interpretation would be desirable. A further breakdown in the Blood and Wolfe study revealed that with respect to decision making, wife's marital satisfaction was greatest when the decision-making pattern was syncratic (i.e., when most of the decisions were made jointly), than autonomic (i.e., when equal numbers of separate decisions were assigned to both partners), followed by husband-dominant, and least in the wife-dominant pattern.

These findings suggest an important point of convergence between the findings with respect to congruency of role expectations and personality traits, and with respect to congruency of the role behaviors of task allocation and decision-making. Hypotheses 30 and 31 predict that marital satisfaction will be associated with a real similarity between the role expectations of both spouses for the husband-father and wife-mother roles, and with a broadening of the traditional male and female roles to incorporate elements of the other but with the traditional relative rank of husband and wife on masculine and feminine traits respectively being retained. The finding that satisfaction decreases when an inordinate number of tasks is shared suggests that in this case the wife may be perceived as inadequate in her role in the nuclear family, i.e., that there is an optimal limit



to the amount of assistance she can legitimately expect from her husband. The following hypothesis is suggested:

Hypothesis 32: Marital satisfaction will bear a curvilinear relationship to the congruency of the husband and wife's role behavior as measured by shared task participation in the nuclear family. Marital satisfaction will be highest when a moderate number of tasks are shared, i.e., when an equalitarian relationship pertains; it will be lower when no or few tasks are shared, i.e., when a traditional relationship pertains, or when an excessive number of tasks are shared indicating a failure of the wife to fulfill her role obligations.

Further, Blood and Wolfe's finding that marital satisfaction is highest when the pattern of decision making is syncratic, followed in decreasing order of satisfaction by autonomic, husband-dominant, and wife-dominant, suggests that Pickford's (p. 127) notion of a counterbalancing of personality traits may be applicable to role behaviors with respect to decision-making as well. That is, he suggested that with respect to personality traits, marital satisfaction will be associated with real congruency, but that where dominant traits of one spouse are counterbalanced by dominant traits of the other, the marital relationship will persist although on a more stressful level. The following hypothesis is suggested:

Hypothesis 33: Marital satisfaction will be positively associated with the congruency of the husband and wife's role behavior as measured by the extent of shared decision-making. It will be highest when a syncratic pattern of decision-making pertains, i.e., when spouses make decisions jointly; lower when an autonomic pattern pertains, i.e., when decisions are made separately but the decisions of one spouse are counterbalanced by an equal number of decisions by the other; still lower when the husband makes the majority of the decisions independently; and lowest when the wife makes the majority of the decisions independently. The latter pattern will be least satisfying because it is incongruent with generalized normative expectations for husband and wife roles, whether they be equalitarian or traditional.





d. The Relationship of the Wife's Participation in the Labor Force to Marital Satisfaction-Dissatisfaction

---

On the basis of the limited data available, the differential participation of the wife in the labor force, i.e., in one of the several external systems in which she may participate, does not appear to be related to marital satisfaction per se. Nye (pp. 112-113, 113-114) found that for mothers having a child in grades one or ten, conflict, as measured by frequency of arguments on a Guttman-type scale, was more frequent among couples in which the mother was employed full-time than in families where she was not employed. However, no differences in satisfaction with relationship to husband and children, family income, house and furniture, or recreational life were found. Employed mothers with a college education showed a smaller proportion dissatisfied and a larger proportion highly satisfied, whereas for mothers with a high school education, employment tended to be associated with an intermediate range of satisfaction. Powell (pp. 114-115), controlling for stage of family life cycle but not for education of mother, found marital adjustment and employment status unrelated for mothers whose oldest child was of preschool or elementary school age. Employed mothers whose oldest child was an adolescent reflected poorer marital adjustment than nonemployed mothers. Feld (pp. 115-116), employing an area probability sample, found mothers who were employed full-time at the time of the interview showed more self-acceptance, better physical health, and less physical anxiety than mothers who were not employed. On the other hand, they reported more frequent doubts of adequacy as mothers. When broken down these differences were found



to directly parallel those between fathers and mothers: working mothers more often expressed concern with parent-child affiliation, whereas nonworking mothers more often expressed concern with parental intolerance. That is, working mothers and fathers seemed to be expressing reactions to absence from the home, whereas nonworking mothers seemed to be expressing reactions to constant interaction with children in the home.

In brief, the data concerning the relationship of maternal employment to marital satisfaction is rather limited and must be interpreted with caution. With respect to Hypotheses 28, 30 and 31, it seems reasonable to predict no relationship between marital satisfaction and employment status of wife per se. That is, to the extent that a principle of homogamy in mate selection is operative such that career or companionate oriented females tend to select mates with similar orientations, and to the extent that such selective mating is associated with both a shared common view of marriage and a convergence of masculine and feminine traits through a broadening of the role repertoires of both partners, both of which are associated with marital satisfaction, then the hypothesis of no difference would be expected to be confirmed. Longitudinal studies would be required to assess the relative importance and prevalence of mate selection versus attitude change of one or both partners through time in affecting role congruency and marital satisfaction.

e. Power Relationships in the Nuclear Family

Turning to the group of studies focussing on power relationships in the nuclear family, interest invested in this variable has



doubtless stemmed from the same source of concern as that which stimulated research on the variable of maternal employment--the fear of disruptive consequences for family solidarity engendered by the entry of increasingly large numbers of wives and mothers into the labor force subsequent to the Second World War. However, as discussed previously in the study of sex role learning and development, research interest in the variable of maternal employment virtually disappeared once it was demonstrated that maternal employment need not necessarily have dysfunctional consequences for the child. In complete contrast, the demonstration that there was not necessarily only one power structure in a family, and that the wife's employment did not necessarily subvert either her husband's authority or power, did not lead to a loss of interest but rather stimulated a broader interest in ascertaining patterns which did pertain. To the extent that the effect of maternal employment on the sex-role learning and development of the child can be considered a consequence or concomitant of power and authority patterns in the nuclear family, the possibility of integrating these findings into subsequent studies of socialization should therefore be borne in mind. That is, in terms of variable analysis, whereas power has been primarily studied as a dependent variable, it could fruitfully be employed as the independent variable in future studies on the socialization process.

As with all variables which have been extensively investigated, the variables of power and authority have been differentially defined by various researchers. In order to make the frame of reference explicit, then, the definitions originally outlined by Wolfe,<sup>10</sup> and





subsequently utilized by Blood and Wolfe (pp. 128-131) will be employed throughout the following discussion. That is, power will be understood to refer to the potential ability of one individual to influence the other's behavior, i.e., the way in which individuals actually behave toward one another. Authority will be understood to refer to legitimate power.

In Wolfe's original formulation, power was viewed in terms of a theory of resources, as a kind of exchange, not dependent upon the norms of the family or how cultural values define family roles, except insofar as they might operate to set limits as to acceptable influence attempts or affect culturally-derived values or needs. A resource is defined as a property of an individual that can satisfy the needs of another individual or assist in the attainment of his goals. Implicit in this definition is the fact that a resource may be negative as well as positive, i.e., may contribute to a deprivation of needs or act as a barrier to the attainment of goals.

The incompleteness of this formulation was revealed by the contradictory findings arising from cross-cultural studies in the United States (Blood and Wolfe, pp. 128-131), France (Michel, pp. 131-132), Greece (Safilios-Rothschild, pp. 132-134), and Yugoslavia (Buric and Zecevic, pp. 134-137):

- (1) In the United States and France, the husband's educational status, occupational status, and income were all positively correlated with his power in the family; in Greece and Yugoslavia, negatively correlated.
- (2) In Greece, the husband's power steadily decreased through the various stages of the family life cycle; in France and the United States,



however, it was not the newlywed husband who had the highest power score but the husband of the wife with preschool children.

As Rodman<sup>11</sup> has pointed out, the contradictions with respect to the relationship between the husband's education, occupation and income with his relative power in the family, arise from the fact that education, occupation, and income are not only resources but also positional variables in the social structure. The different positions of which they are indicative may involve differing patterns of socialization and may represent, for example, a greater or lesser likelihood of learning sentiments favorable toward an equalitarian distribution of power. In industrializing countries such as Greece and Yugoslavia, these changes in ideological belief from one of male dominance to one of equalitarianism may overshadow their utility as a resource in power relationships. In industrialized countries, such as the United States and France, where a more equalitarian ideology exists, power may be exercised by the husband only when he possesses the valued resources of a high education, occupation, and income to a greater extent than his wife.

The difference with respect to the relationship between husband's power and stage of the life cycle in Greece, France and the United States may have resulted from differences in the measures of power employed. While all three studies employed the wife's summated report of decision-making influence, the areas on which the ratings were based differed in the three countries. Blood and Wolfe (pp. 128-131) calculated a power score based on the composite responses to the question of who makes the final decision in eight areas: husband's



job, car, life insurance, vacation, apartment or house, wife's job, doctor, and groceries. Michel (pp. 131-132) in her French study, investigated ten areas, five of which were identical to the American ones. Unfortunately the five items which differed were not supplied. Safilios-Rothschild (pp. 132-134) investigated eight areas: child-rearing, money, relations with in-laws, leisure time, family size, friends, family's clothes, and furniture and household items. Further examination of the Greek data revealed that the decrease in the husband's power which began with the birth of children was primarily due to the fact that child-rearing decisions were predominantly feminine. Since this area was not included in the American study, and it is not known whether it was included in the French study or not, the findings are simply not comparable.

The importance of these findings to the investigation of power relationships in the nuclear family resides in the fact that they demonstrate:

- (1) that any given attribute will or will not be utilizable as a resource by any given individual precisely because the meaning or relative value of that attribute is prescribed by the social milieu, and
- (2) power is not a unidimensional variable; responsibility and influence may be allocated differentially according to area of function.<sup>12</sup>

These findings suggest that the balance of power in the nuclear family parallels the valences of role-sets as outlined in Hypothesis 29, with the exception that whereas the valences of role-sets were concerned with the static comparison of husband-father and





wife-mother roles as individuals, the balance of power is concerned with the interaction between them. The following hypothesis is, therefore, suggested:

Hypothesis 34: The balance of power in the nuclear family will be a resultant of four aspects or valences:

- (1) the comparative resources of the husband and wife in any particular nuclear family,
- (2) the comparative resources of husbands and wives in their social milieu (culture, social class position, or perhaps reference groups),
- (3) the normative expectations of the balance of power which will exist in any particular nuclear family, and the sanctioned means whereby such an ideology can be actualized, and
- (4) the normative expectations of the balance of power which will exist between spouses in their social milieu, and the sanctioned means whereby such an ideology can be actualized.

The generalized normative expectation for the modal balance of power in different social class positions differs in one important respect from the modal expectation of how role-sets will be performed by marriage partners, in that whereas the latter expectations were found to be a constant, the limited evidence suggests the former varies by socioeconomic status as follows:<sup>13</sup>

Hypothesis 35: The authority attached to the generalized husband-father role (sanctioned male dominance) will be inversely related to educational attainment of both husband and wife. That is, the normative expectation for the modal balance of power relationship will favor a male-dominance ideology among less educated respondents and as educational level increases will tend to more strongly favor an equalitarian ideology. Among younger respondents, i.e., adolescents, their normative expectations will tend to reflect the educational level of their parents.

Hypothesis 36: The sanctioned means by which a male-dominance ideology can be actualized will differ from the sanctioned means by which an equalitarian ideology can be actualized. That is, the resources which are available to spouses for affecting the balance of power in the nuclear family will tend to differ by socioeconomic strata. Moreover, the same objective relationship with respect to any given resource may have a different subjective meaning with respect to the balance of power for respondents in different socioeconomic strata (i.e., for respondents holding different ideological positions with respect to the expected balance of power in the nuclear family).



The above hypotheses may be illustrated by citing a few examples from the many possible resources which could be selected. For example, physical superiority may be utilized as a resource among lower class respondents where it is a condoned (if not prescribed) concomitant of male dominance. It cannot, however, be utilized by the upper class male since an equalitarian ideology neither condones nor prescribes physical dominance. Even if any particular lower class couple do not themselves subscribe to the legitimacy of physical violence, the wife will be aware that other husbands in their social milieu do exercise this right. Her husband's abstinence from the use of physical violence will thus be a resource in their power relationship, positive if the wife regards herself as "lucky" for having such an understanding husband, negative if she holds him in contempt for being a weakling. In the upper socioeconomic strata restraint on the part of the male from the use of physical violence will carry no such connotations since it is simply not regarded as a legitimate source of power. In fact if the husband does resort to physical violence it may not lead to an increase in his power, but to a severance of the marital relationship. Similarly, withholding of sexual access may be a resource in a social milieu where an equalitarian ideology pertains; it will not be available as a resource to the wife in a milieu which sanctions male dominance and wherein it is considered the duty of the wife to submit to the sexual demands of her husband.





f. Theoretical and Methodological Problems in the Measurement of Power Relationships in the Nuclear Family

Different techniques have been employed in an attempt to circumvent these problems in the measurement of power, none of them completely satisfactory. Heer (pp. 137-138, 138-139) attempted to avoid the problem of the nonunidimensionality of power by asking a generalized question, "When there's a really important decision on which you two are likely to disagree, who usually wins out?" For a single weighted power score he thus substituted an intuitive weighting of decision-making areas in terms of their subjective importance to respondents.<sup>14</sup> However, in addition to the fact that it becomes relatively more difficult to obtain a precise measure of family power, patterns of differences remain obscured as does the meaning of the relationship to the respondents.

Hoffman (pp. 139-141) employed the child's summated report of decision-making influence by asking the child which family members do a particular routine activity and who decides about that activity. The measure consisted of thirty-three paired items, one item pair, for example, being, "Who cooks the evening meal?" and "Who decides what to cook for the evening meal?" One apparent shortcoming of this approach is that it needs to be pushed one step further, i.e., "Who decides who decides what to cook for the evening meal?" This becomes salient, for example, in the case of the working wife whose husband is willing to assist by cooking supper, if she plans the menu. Thus, she decides and he does, which by Hoffman's measure would credit the wife with greater power. However, he has decided how the division of labor will





be allocated, and has not in fact actually relinquished his power over his wife with respect to that activity.

Rather more ingenious, but correspondingly more restricted in scope, have been Babchuk and Bates' (pp. 144-145) study of male dominance in primary group relationships, and Heiss' (pp. 143-144) study of dominance in the small groups laboratory among couples differing in their degree of affective relationship.

The relationship between the employment of the wife outside the home and the balance of power within the family is not clear on the basis of the studies surveyed. Blood and Wolfe (pp. 128-131), Michel (pp. 131-132), Safilios-Rothschild (pp. 132-134), Buric and Zecevic (pp. 134-137), and Heer (pp. 138-139) have found the contribution of an independent income by the wife increases her power in the family. Hoffman (pp. 139-141) reported a similar finding, but also found the relationship to disappear when family size and socioeconomic status were controlled. Middleton and Putney (pp. 142-143) reported that families in which wives were working were significantly more patriarchal than those in which the wife did not work. Measures of power employed differed in all of these studies, however, negating the possibility of comparing results.

A typology of power relationships which would take into account the valence of power outlined in Hypothesis 34 would facilitate further inquiry in this area but is obviously outside the scope of the present paper.<sup>15</sup> Such a procedure would have the advantage of controlling for socioeconomic status while examining the patterns of resources utilized in the balance of power in various spheres of marital interaction.



One further problem remains, and that is the extent to which the balance of power in the nuclear family is affected by the presence or absence of children, and their maturation. To the extent that middle-class parents socialize their children with the development of autonomy as a goal, it might be expected that as children reach adolescence they will assume a greater role in affecting family decisions. Longitudinal research would be required to assess the extent to which such increased participation would affect the power of one spouse over the other, as well as the permanency of such changes if they did occur.

#### 4. Specific Hypotheses Relating to the Maternal Role

Hypothesis 26 predicted that persons with a low degree of role or status consistency would be more likely to be subjected to disturbing experiences in the interaction process, and that they therefore would have greater difficulty in establishing rewarding patterns of social interaction than others. As shown in the previous section, this hypothesis received empirical support when marital dissatisfaction and political liberalism, generalized attitudes toward the internal and external social systems respectively, were regarded as reactions to, or manifestations of, these disturbing experiences. It was suggested that a third possibility existed, that the disturbing experiences engendered by role or status inconsistency could also be expressed against the self, as for example in a higher rate of psychosomatic symptoms or alcoholism.



a. Social Sources of Pregnancy as Illness or Normality

The series of three studies by Rosengren (pp. 147-151) on the social sources of pregnancy as illness or normality suggest a specific instance in which dissatisfactions arising from the interaction process can be acted out in the form of a tendency to regard oneself as more sick during pregnancy than will the female whose normal role enactments do not engender such inconsistencies and dissatisfactions. Whereas the normal function of the sick role is to excuse those who are physically unable to carry out their role obligations, pregnancy is more idiosyncratic in nature as it may be regarded as either a sick role engendering special privileges and exemptions from normal role obligations or it may simply be regarded as a normal physiological process with no such sick role connotations. Thus pregnancy may be invoked as a sick role by those who are unwilling to continue their usual social roles, or who for some reason find the sick role more satisfying than the roles they are ordinarily called upon to perform. This may be stated in the form of two hypotheses as follows:

Hypothesis 37: The role of the pregnant woman tends to be socially unstructured insofar as it may be regarded as physiologically normal engendering no special advantages or disadvantages, or it may be regarded as a sick role engendering the privilege of being excused from the performance of normal roles.

Hypothesis 38: The woman with a low degree of role or status consistency, who is more likely to be subjected to disturbing experiences in the interaction process, will be more highly motivated to escape her usual social roles. She will therefore tend to regard herself as more sick during pregnancy than will the woman with a high degree of role or status consistency. For example, the socially mobile woman, whose achieved and prescribed statuses tend to be incongruent, will tend to regard herself as more sick during pregnancy than will the socially stable woman; the employed woman whose occupational status is high and for whom pregnancy may engender greater role discontinuity will tend to regard herself as more sick than the woman





who is not employed or who is employed in a lower status occupation where pregnancy will be less disruptive; the woman whose educational status is either higher or lower than her husband's will tend to regard herself as more sick than the woman whose educational status is similar to her husband's.

The examples cited in Hypothesis 38 are not meant to be definitive, but merely indicative of the types of role or status inconsistency which may engender a tendency to enact the sick role during pregnancy. The possibility must not be overlooked that through the process of socialization women from certain ethnic, religious, or socioeconomic backgrounds may have learned different attitudes toward pregnancy and may simply be acting out these learned predispositions. If such predispositions were found to exist, the further assumption would be made that the above relationships would hold when proper controls were instigated.

In and of themselves Rosengren's findings (pp. 147-151) must be treated with extreme caution because of his failure to employ any kind of random sampling techniques. Although he claims his sample was representative in terms of age and previous number of children, this does not preclude the possibility that respondents in various status groups may have differed considerably on these variables, and that they therefore introduced systematic biases. Socioeconomic status and previous number of children would seem, at a minimum, factors which should be controlled. Moreover, the extent to which the samples in his three studies overlap is not clear since the N's differ between them. Obviously they are not identical since the one hypothesis which was tested twice, that high sick role expectations would be associated with low social status, was supported in his first study (pp. 147-148)



but not in the third (pp. 150-151). In any case, it is not at all clear why low social status per se was taken as indicative of greater social disturbance. This may be an instance, for example, where number of previous children may be positively associated with high sick role expectations. If the first study contained more low status women with large families, whereas the third did not, then the discrepancy would be explained. This interpretation is, of course, purely hypothetical, but it does, however, serve to illustrate the difficulty encountered in assessing his results. The uniqueness of his formulation and the lack of other studies dealing with this aspect of pregnancy, however, endow his studies with heuristic value.

Bearing these limitations in mind, the first study (pp. 147-148) found wife's occupational status and intragenerational social mobility to be associated with high sick role expectations, as predicted in Hypothesis 38.

In the second study (pp. 149-150) incongruity was assessed in two ways by examining the women's value orientations to various life areas such as life goals, career choices, political goals, etc. These values were classed as either consistent or inconsistent with the woman's objective social status (what we have heretofore referred to as status consistency) or as internally congruent or incongruent (role consistency). Regard for self as sick during pregnancy was found to be related to both the extent of inconsistent cultural values expressed and the extent of incongruous cultural values for lower status women only. Further, low self-ratings and low feelings of social attribute attainment were found related to high sick role expectations for higher status women



only. It was thus suggested that role dissatisfaction and alienation might arise from an alienation from the sociocultural values toward which they aspire for lower status women, whereas for higher status women the basis of the rejection of normal social roles may be more related to dissatisfactions in interpersonal contexts. While this interpretation awaits further validation, it again supports the point which has been made continually throughout this paper: respondents from different socioeconomic strata cannot be treated as if they are members of a homogeneous population with respect to the subjective meanings they may impute to various social phenomena.

In the third study (pp. 150-151) a positive association between extent of regard for self as sick and retaliatory child-rearing attitudes was found for both high and low status women. To the extent that both are related to role or status inconsistency, and to the extent that such retaliatory child-rearing attitudes are transferred into actual child-rearing practice, this finding suggests one possible basis for the allegation made in Hypothesis 26 that persons with a low degree of role or status congruency, in either the family of orientation or procreation, are more likely to be subjected to disturbing experiences in the interaction process.

#### b. Parenthood as a Crisis Situation

The series of studies on parenthood as a crisis situation (pp. 151-155) suggest another specific situation in which the disruptive effects of role or status incongruency may be crystallized and given focus by the occurrence of an event entailing a change in social roles,





i.e., the birth of the first child. Again, however, this series of studies contain severe methodological problems. In the original study by LeMasters (pp. 151-152) parenthood per se was conceptualized as a crisis event and analysis carried out within this orientation. However, a random sample was not employed and the measure of crisis used was not reported. Nevertheless, a similar interpretation seems warranted as that which was put forward for the allegation that the choice between career and homemaking represents a severe role conflict for a sufficiently large number of adolescent females that it assumes the status of a social problem: it seems completely unreasonable to hypothesize the birth of the first child creates such a severe realignment of role patterns that it can be construed as a crisis for the majority of married couples. What is deemed problematic is: for whom will the birth of the first child be sufficiently disruptive of role relationships that it can be construed as a crisis? The suggestion is made that its potentiality as a crisis experience exists for precisely the same population as did marital dissatisfaction, political liberalism, and pregnancy as a sick role, i.e., those persons who experience disturbing interactional relationships due to status or role inconsistency. That is,

Hypothesis 39: The extent of crisis experienced with the birth of the first child will be inversely related to degree of role or status consistency.

The second study by Dyer (pp. 152-154) reported no significant relationships between extent of crisis and employment of the wife before the child arrived, or educational differences between husband and wife, a possible negative claim on the above hypothesis; but did



report marital adjustment was related to less crisis, a finding which supports the hypothesis to the extent that marital adjustment and role or status consistency are related. These results must be treated with extreme caution, however, as a random sample was again not employed, nor was the instrument used to measure crisis, a Likert-type scale, reported.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, his reported findings appear to contradict themselves with respect to the relationship between education of husband and wife and extent of crisis. That is, one of the criteria used for inclusion of couples in his sample was that either the husband or wife have a college education. He then reported that husband's education was associated with the extent of crisis reported, husbands with a high school education experiencing significantly more crisis than husbands with a college education. By definition the, husbands with a high school education must have been married to wives with a college education, a case of status inconsistency. Why this difference would not remain significant when educational differences of husband and wife were related to crisis is not clear. Similarly, if merely the fact of employment of wife before marriage or not was taken as the criteria, rather than wife's occupational status or degree of involvement, this may explain why this variable was not related to extent of crisis. That is, many women are employed after marriage and until the birth of the first child merely to help get the couple on a sound economic footing, there being no expectation of serious career involvement. The suggestions are, of course, purely hypothetical but do point to the necessity for further study as well as suggesting the variables to be taken into account.



The third study by Hobbs (pp. 154-155) contributes little of theoretical importance to our discussion since analysis was not carried out in terms of the framework proposed herein. A methodological advancement was incorporated in that a twenty-three item objectivity checklist as a measure of crisis was developed and reported. In the original study, LeMasters (pp. 151-152) had used interview data to code respondents on a five-point scale with respect to the degree of crisis experienced with the birth of the first child. The checklist developed by Hobbs included items selected from this interview data. While Dyer (pp. 152-154) had developed a Likert-type scale as a measure of crisis, the scale was neither reported nor available. The objectivity checklist provided by Hobbs thus represents the first explicit operationalization of the concept as it has been employed in this area. Findings were completely negative with a random sample drawn from public birth records since the fifteen variables examined revealed no relationship to the extent of crisis experienced with the birth of the first child. Neither wife's occupational status nor status consistency were among the variables investigated, however, and a further examination of these variables to the measure of crisis employed might prove fruitful for further investigation.

c. Mental Illness and the Maternal Role

Moving from relatively minor manifestations of disruptive concomitants of the maternal role to an instance of major disruption, i.e., mental illness, data in the literature sources surveyed becomes relatively more scarce. Sharp (pp. 155-156) and Sharp and Nye (pp.





156-157), using mental illness diagnosis as a measure of personality type, found in an institutionalized population that previously employed mothers differed from nonemployed mothers on this measure. Furthermore, employed mothers were more often classified as having exhibited symptoms of mental illness over a longer period of time, and more often exhibited other symptoms of family disorganization (excessive marital-pair conflict, unusual habits of husband, multiple marriages of wife and of husband) than did nonemployed mothers. Employed mothers from a normal population did not differ from nonemployed mothers in anxiety level as measured by a Guttman-type scale, but among employed mothers anxiety symptoms were positively associated with the extent of occupational status discrepancy between husband and wife. This finding suggests the possibility that mental illness represents the extreme case of disruptive consequences arising from role or status inconsistency. There is a further possibility that the effect may be cumulative, i.e., for the stress to become sufficiently severe to result in mental illness disruptive effects of role and status inconsistency in both the families of orientation and procreation might have been compounded; or, perhaps, there is a cumulative nature to the multiplicity of dimensions on which such inconsistency occurs. Investigations along these lines might serve to specify this highly tentative suggestion.

d. Mothers' Attitudes Towards Their Children

Conceptually distinguishable from the approach inherent in the foregoing studies of pregnancy as illness, crisis engendered by the birth of the first child, and mental illness, all of which focus



on the mother's internalized expectations or behavioral consequences for self, are a second group of studies investigating the mother's attitudes toward her children. There is, not surprisingly, little continuity between these two broad approaches. For example, the possibility raised in the studies by Rosengren (pp. 147-151), that a trend toward retaliatory child-rearing attitudes associated with the mother's extent of regard for self as sick during pregnancy (and by logical inference, consequently with wife's occupation, intragenerational social mobility, value inconsistency with objective social class position and value incongruity for lower status women, and dissatisfactions in interpersonal contexts for higher status women) might be translated into actual child-rearing practice, was not really examined in the series of studies investigating the adjustment of mothers to their children (pp. 157-162). Rather, the concern underlying this second group of studies has been primarily with the employment status of the mother, or (in the case of Swimehart's study, pp. 161-162) with socioeconomic status. Unfortunately, neither have these two concerns been examined jointly, thus making their integration into a common framework virtually impossible. They may, however, be taken as indicative of some of the types of variables that may usefully be taken into account in subsequent research.

The one finding which clearly emerges is that the employment status of the mother per se is not related to her attitudes toward children. Nye (pp. 157-158) and Swimehart (pp. 161-162), both employing large representative samples, found mother's employment status at the time of data collection was unrelated to the attitude



measures employed. With family size controlled, Nye found employed mothers in small families were more likely to be well adjusted to children than nonemployed mothers, whereas in large families (four or more children) the reverse relationship was found to hold. Furthermore, he found adjustment to children among employed mothers consistently improved with length of employment. Using more stringent measures of maternal involvement, taking into account the number of hours worked outside the home per week, but limiting analysis to middle-class samples, Powell (p. 158) and Yarrow et al. (pp. 159-161) similarly found no differences between working and nonworking mothers on the attitudinal measures employed. Moreover, Powell found that this finding of no difference held at three stages of the life cycle based on the age of the oldest child (preschool, elementary school, or adolescent). Examining role preference, Yarrow et al. found role dissatisfaction entered into the relationship with the child more in the nonworking than in the working group of mothers. No differences in child-rearing practices were found between mothers working for family motivations or for motivations pertaining to self-fulfillment; mothers working for self-fulfillment preferred their present role, whereas the group of mothers working for family motivations included both those who were and were not satisfied with their present role arrangements. Among nonworking mothers those motivated by love received more favorable scores than those motivated by duty; in general the classifications of love and duty paralleled those of nonworking mothers satisfied and dissatisfied with their present role.





### 5. Specific Hypotheses Relating to the Career Role

Few studies of the commitment of women to the career (or employment) role were reported in the literature surveyed. And of the five studies surveyed, those by Conyers (pp. 163-164), Weil (pp. 164-166), and Sobol (pp. 166-167) suffer from what might be termed a "global" approach, employing extremely heterogeneous samples of women from different socioeconomic strata and widely divergent occupations.

Studies of the career patterns or aspirations of females are pervaded with two general themes: (1) that an element of prejudice against women precludes them from being considered on an equal basis with males for career advancement into upper echelon positions, and (2) that the dual commitments of the married career woman to her family and her work, concomitant with the fact that she lacks the additional financial incentive provided by the knowledge that her family's status position will depend on her career achievement, will lower her career aspirations and hence her attainment. There seems to be little doubt about the validity of the second assertion for perhaps the greatest part of the adult female employed population. That is, for most married females in the labor force, work or career commitment will likely be modified to some extent due to felt family obligations. The vast majority of contemporary married women presently in the labor force would be categorized in the companionship role as outlined in Hypothesis 27. That is, although their job or career may represent a more or less serious commitment on their part, it is subordinated to their perceived obligations as wife and mother. For example, they will



tend to devote their full time to homemaking when their children are very young, to seek part-time employment which is less demanding of their time in the world of work, or to enter those jobs or professions with well-regulated hours that more adequately mesh with a family schedule. This allegation suggests the approach of considering factors which permit a satisfactory arrangement in relationship to a woman's performance in more than one role.

a. Background Variables Related to Career Commitment

The findings from the two studies examining the relationship of various background variables to the wife's commitment to work, those by Weil (pp. 164-166) and Sobol (pp. 166-167) differ in some important respects from each other. Due to the global nature of the approaches of both, discussed previously, comparison is extremely difficult. Both studies employed samples of white married women, but whereas all the women in Weil's sample did have children, the women in Sobol's sample merely had to be of child-bearing age, defined as being between the ages of 18 and 39. Thus Weil's sample was more restricted on this dimension, as well as in range of socioeconomic status since women were selected from a lower- and a middle-priced housing development and median income was above the national average, whereas Sobol's study employed a stratified random sample of women meeting the marital and age criteria. Further Weil's sample was probably older since the average age of respondents was given as 36 years.

Bearing these limitations in mind, Weil found that the most important factor influencing a wife's decision to perform in both the



housewife-mother and career roles was her husband's supportive attitude; this variable was not examined in Sobol's study. The second most important factor found by Weil was a high educational level of the wife (4 or more years of college training), or wife's specialized training beyond high school; Sobol, on the other hand, found exactly the opposite, a slight negative correlation between the wife's level of education and her work commitment. Weil found the third most important factor was the wife's continuation of work after marriage; Sobol found a slight negative correlation between wife's work experience prior to marriage and work commitment. Other factors found by Weil to be related to wife's continued or planned performance in the career role were: having husbands who accepted an obligation for helping with care of children and household chores, and having no preschool children. Sobol also found women with older children and no expectation of additional children were more likely to plan work careers.

While both of these studies are important in pointing to some of the contingent factors which may facilitate or encourage the married woman's participation in the labor force, they offer little information as to the process of career development or patterns of variables concomitant with various degrees of career commitment. The central problem would appear to be the question of choice, i.e., these factors do not just "happen" but can be deliberately (consciously or unconsciously) controlled by the woman herself. That is, the variables predictive of career involvement: education, training, husband's attitude, and family size may all be largely determined by the woman's attitude toward a career before marriage. For example, the prediction was made in





Hypothesis 27 that the adolescent female with a strong career commitment, if she married, would select a husband who was sympathetic to these aspirations. In addition to testing this hypothesis future research might valuably tend to focus on the mechanisms by which those females expecting to occupy a companionship role elect the career rather than community options; and factors which modify or strengthen pre-marital intentions. To be most effective such an approach would be best carried out within specific occupational groupings, or at least specific socioeconomic strata.

b. The Relationship of Prejudice to Career Achievement

The second theme underlying research on women's career patterns, that prejudice precludes women from upper echelon positions and superior career achievement, is relatively much more difficult to assess. After a detailed examination of a large body of published data Bernard<sup>17</sup> concludes that, for academic women, those who are professionally ambitious are doubly handicapped: by the prejudice and competition of men, and by the lesser professional ambitions of most women by which they are judged. She therefore concludes, on the basis of awards granted and academic positions filled, that the evidence suggests that there is no discrimination against the rank and file of academic women, but that it probably exists with respect to the top women who are, statistically speaking, in the same universe with their male counterparts. The evidence is not, however, unequivocal, especially with regard to the subjective feelings of women academicians themselves. Ginzberg<sup>18</sup> reports that in his study of 311 women who pursued graduate



studies at Columbia between 1945 and 1951, sixty per cent reported that they had never encountered discrimination. And of the forty per cent who reported they had encountered discrimination, seven per cent reported this took the form of both obstacles and assistance. Specific types of positive discrimination reported took the form of: a readier acceptance of their ideas since they are not taken seriously enough to arouse jealousy; greater credit for a job well done and more recognition because it is easier to get notice as a minority group member (woman); helpfulness of employers, especially those who had working wives and a consequent desire to prove a woman can have a family and a successful career. We may summarize as follows:

Hypothesis 40: Negative discrimination will be operative in terms of admission procedures or selection practices for those positions in which women and men compete on an "equal" basis, i.e., the requirements will be more stringent for women than for men. However, once admittance has been gained to a particular position, recognition and advancement will be based on merit regardless of sex. That is, when necessary controls are instigated for length of full-time employment, there will be no differences between males and females with respect to either achievement or salaries. (Allowance is made for the fact that negative discrimination will be operative both when the female gains entry to a particular position and when she desires to leave that position for another which is of higher rank. Thus, the range would be expected to be more restricted for females than for males within any particular occupation, but the averages should remain the same.)

The ambivalence of these general findings is reflected in the survey of Conyers (pp. 163-164) of 18 employment agents and personnel managers of businesses or service concerns employing large numbers of females. The attitudes expressed with respect to the employment of mothers were quite mixed: they tended to be regarded as more stable than single females by some because they did have family responsibilities; but there was the opposite fear expressed by others that these very responsibilities might affect the stability of their employment.





However, no differences were felt to exist with respect to job performance between single women, childless married women, and mothers. The reported policy with respect to pregnancy is instructive: the usual policy cited being that of complete severance, usually at about the fifth month of the pregnancy. To the extent that this represents company policy rather than personal preference of the mother, this indicates that the interrupted career pattern of some mothers may be foisted upon them rather than consciously chosen. To the extent that seniority benefits are also lost through this practice, it also points to one reason why absolute comparisons between males and females in terms of salary or position would tend to favor the male.

Examining the relative status of males and females in sociology and other academic disciplines, Fava (pp. 167-168) found a progressive differential mortality rate between the sexes, with women receiving progressively smaller proportions of degrees granted from the bachelor's degree through graduate level, and continuing through the level of professional participation in terms of articles published and meetings attended. She went on to compare six categories of male and female sociologists (Ph.D., M.A., B.A., college or university employment, college or university Ph.D.'s only, total) by earnings and age. Not surprisingly she found all six salary comparisons showed a differential in favor of men, although in every case but one (the B.A. comparison) the median age of the women was higher. This result is noted as "not surprising", because as pointed out earlier, a great many women do not follow continuous career patterns whereas most men do. Since salaries are generally not based on position alone, but also on seniority or





tenure, the only legitimate meaningful comparison that could be made would be one between males and females who had received their respective degrees at the same ages and who had been continuously employed. Even here the comparison might not be strictly valid since women tend to be geographically less mobile than men,<sup>19</sup> and presumably such mobility will often be associated with career advancement. It would be necessary to know, for example, if women are less mobile by choice or if they are less successful in applying for positions in other geographical areas which would have advanced their careers.

Two interesting findings do emerge from Fava's study, however. First, the mortality rate between proportionate number of B.A. and Ph.D. degrees awarded women is much higher in the traditional "women's fields" of education, sociology and psychology than in the more "masculine" fields of biology, history, chemistry, economics, political science, and physics. This suggests that women who are sufficiently career oriented to select a masculine field initially will tend to be more committed, i.e., to obtain a Ph.D., than women who make more traditionally feminine choices. This raises the question of whether women in feminine fields who do continue to the Ph.D. level are initially as committed as those who obtain Ph.D. degrees in masculine fields, or if this commitment develops with continued success through the educational system. Both Ginzberg<sup>20</sup> and Bernard<sup>21</sup> report that large percentages of females are not motivated in their educational pursuits by career objectives but are propelled along the route of higher education by the encouragement of friends, family, or professors, a lack of more attractive alternatives, or simply to postpone their



departure from the protection of campus life. They do not, however, provide any information as to the differential rates of such "drifters" in different areas of specialization.

The second finding of note from Fava's study concerns the salary differentials between males and females in various academic fields (based on 1952 data). The differential was found to be least in sociology and to progressively widen through the fields of history, linguistics and literature, political science, other humanities, economics, geography, anthropology and archaeology (from \$600 to \$1400). Unless the career patterns of females differ widely in these fields, the findings suggest relatively greater discrimination as one moves from sociology to archaeology. While this interpretation needs to be treated with extreme caution, it would appear to be a relatively simple check on discriminative practices which may exist.

Within a specific occupational group, Kosa and Coker (pp. 169-171), in their study of 525 physicians who at one point of their careers worked in public health, found that in every comparable position of the medical career, women worked on the average for a shorter time than men. Again this finding lends substance to our argument that absolute comparisons between males and females in terms of age, length of time since graduation and salaries are invalid, but must take into account the length of time actually spent in full-time employment. However, this factor was not taken into account in their own comparisons which were made on the basis of first position after graduation, first position in public health, last position in public health, and first position after leaving public health. The only



position in which the salaries of women were higher was that of the first position after graduation. The interpretation offered was that more men than women take an interim position after graduation in order to discharge military obligations or obtain advanced training; after that, however, men establish their greater earning power, and in each of the subsequent positions the difference in income increases. True as this interpretation may be, it is clearly not warranted on the basis of the data presented. If discrimination against females is operative, it is certainly so for selection for entrance to medical school. Therefore there is every reason to expect female graduates on the average to be better qualified than males and this factor could account for their higher salaries in the initial position following graduation. Subsequent differentials favoring males might then reflect nothing more than the higher salaries naturally accruing to greater length of time spent in actual practice. In other words, absolute salary differentials may be artifactual, reflecting the greater tendency of women to engage in part-time or interrupted career patterns.

c. Sex Differences in Career Patterns

Kosa and Coker's results did indicate that there was a sex-based division of fields in medicine, but it must be emphasized that these were statistical differences only. Thus it was found that women tended to show less favorable attitudes toward the entrepreneurial role than did males (for example, 24% of the males said they preferred close relationships with patients to large income vs. 45% of females);





females more often chose maternal and child health as the first position after graduation (34% of females vs. 10% of males), and psychiatry as the present position (18% of females vs. 7% of males). Examination of value preferences by sex and professional field, revealed female physicians in public health or other fields did not differ significantly, both groups tending to reject the entrepreneurial role to a greater extent than did males. Differences among males were, however, significant: those working in public health rejecting the entrepreneurial role to a greater extent than did males in other fields (but not to as great an extent as either group of females). The findings reported and commented on by Bernard for academic women in general,<sup>22</sup> tend to corroborate Kosa and Coker's finding that a sex-based division of fields exists, but that this difference is of a statistical, i.e., not absolute, nature. In brief, women are attracted to work which involves a concern with people, both in terms of discipline (tending to be proportionally overrepresented in humanistic areas and underrepresented in the physical science areas and mathematics), and type of career involvement (tending to be overrepresented in the teacher role and underrepresented in the man-of-knowledge role).

While the literature surveyed relating to female career roles has been necessarily limited,<sup>23</sup> it can probably be taken as indicative to the extent that the general conclusion can be drawn that the studies raise a great many more questions than they answer. There is no question that broad sex differences exist with respect to career patterns, but the extent to which such differences reflect prejudices inherent in the structure of the job marketplace and the



extent to which they reflect the female's placing primary importance on her family role as housewife-mother is not known. Beginning with Turner's finding (pp. 97-100) that adolescent females exhibit four patterns with respect to educational ambition, the following hypotheses are offered to summarize the foregoing discussion and to suggest the direction which future research could most fruitfully take.

Hypothesis 41: Adolescent females (high school seniors) exhibit four patterns with respect to educational ambition: a relatively low level of ambition, education valued as an end in itself for the achievement of a cultured style of life, education valued as a means of securing a husband through whom to realize other material ambitions, and education valued as a means to achieving a career for self. The three types of positive educational ambition need not be mutually exclusive, but females can be categorized as to the type of achievement which is relatively most important to them.

Hypothesis 42: Adolescent females having a relatively low level of ambition will tend to be predominantly drawn from the lower (working) classes, to have mothers who are full-time housewives, and to have relatively lower levels of scholastic achievement than females having a relatively high level of ambition (i.e., who plan to pursue their education beyond the high school level). They will tend to be enrolled in commercial or nonacademic high school programs, and to plan on either entering full-time employment or getting married immediately after leaving high school. They will tend to marry at an earlier age than other girls. Unless they do not marry, these girls will never follow a straight (i.e. uninterrupted) career pattern. However, if they do not marry, or if married if they must work for economic reasons, career advancement and ambition may result from on-the-job success. Since females in this pattern will be employed in relatively low status positions, career advancement will occur through on-the-job promotions, perhaps supplemented by evening school attendance, as for example from typist to secretary. Such advancement, however, will result as a failure of earlier plans for a full-time housewife-mother role to materialize. In other words, career achievement will be a result of reactions and adaptations to post high school exigencies rather than the result of accomplishment of a consciously held goal.

Hypothesis 43: Adolescent females who predominantly value education as an end in itself for the achievement of a cultured style of life will tend to be characterized by upper socioeconomic status, to a lesser extent by middle class status especially when they have a mother who is exceptionally talented in some area requiring intellectual or professional competence (whether she is employed or not, and whether she has amateur or professional status). Females from lower socio-





economic strata will never place primary emphasis on education as an end in itself. Such females will tend to project themselves into the companionship housewife-mother role, perhaps with the expectation of a part-time or interrupted career pattern. They will tend to enroll in the humanities or fine arts. Failure to marry as expected, or outstanding achievement coupled with the encouragement of their husbands could result in a straight career pattern for such females.

Hypothesis 44: Adolescent females who primarily value education as a means of securing a husband through whom to realize other material ambitions will be characterized by middle class or upper lower class status, especially in those cases where parental mobility aspirations have been vested in their children. It is expected that instances of purely economic motivations will be relatively infrequent due to the norm of romantic love inherent in our culture. Rather such females will tend to project themselves into the companionship role, viewing educational attainment for themselves as necessary for their husband's career success. They will not tend to expect such assistance for their husband's career to take the form of their employment outside the home. Failure to marry may result in a straight career pattern, but these girls would be expected not to select husbands who would encourage career ambitions. Such females would tend to select traditionally feminine areas such as home economics, education, and nursing. Since husbands' career attainments may fail to meet their materialistic aspirations, they may return to career objectives (most usually after children are in school) in order that family financial objectives may be better realized.

Hypothesis 45: Adolescent females who primarily value education as a means to achieving a career for self will tend to be characterized by middle class socioeconomic status. They will tend to select traditionally masculine fields more than any other females, or to select masculine career lines in more feminine areas (as for example to plan on graduate work if they enter the humanities, social sciences, or education, or to select the degree rather than the diploma pattern in nursing, etc.). They will more often not plan on marriage than other females, or will project themselves into the partner role if they do plan to marry. They will accordingly be more often characterized by failure to marry, to tend to marry later if they do marry, and to select husbands with favorable expectations for their wives' employment. Due to the difficulties inherent in investing primary or equal commitment to the career role if they do marry, such females will also be characterized by a higher divorce rate than any other females, when socioeconomic status is controlled.

It will be noted that in the above hypotheses the implicit assumption is that attitudes will determine subsequent behavior with respect to career patterns, while recognizing that failure of plans for marital roles can exert a modifying influence.





## 6. Specific Hypotheses Relating to Extended Family and Community Roles

Studies investigating the adult female's relationship to the external system in terms of extended family or community roles have unfortunately been little concerned with integrating these findings, either with each other or with those pertaining to the career role. Thus what has tended to emerge have been findings relating to the career role as outlined in the previous section, findings relating to extended family participation, and findings relating to community participation, all put forth in relative isolation from each other. Thus, it is not known, for example, the extent to which such interaction systems exist as structural alternatives to each other as means whereby the female may maintain her self-esteem and sense of personal worth.

### a. The Role of the Female in Extended Family and Informal Social Networks

Focussing on the interaction of the marital couple with their extended kinship systems, Reiss (pp. 175-176) and Gray and Smith (pp. 172-173) found females tended to be more often in contact with their families than were males. Both studies were carefully controlled, but the controls employed differed, lending confidence to the stability of this finding. Reiss employed a relatively homogeneous population of middle-class couples, finding that neither ethnic background, family cycle phase, nor age of respondents were associated with frequency of interaction. Gray and Smith employed a more heterogeneous population with respect to socioeconomic status with an area probability sample, but controlled for the factor of time availability by restricting their



sample to couples in which both spouses were employed full-time. Accessibility of families in terms of geographical distance of residence from respondents was also ruled out as an intruding variable. Both studies reported that rather than leading to a greater source of in-law friction, males more often than females felt their in-laws had strengthened their marriage. The following hypotheses are suggested:

Hypothesis 46: When appropriate controls are introduced for employment status of females, distance of residence and socioeconomic status, females will tend to be more attached to their parental family and extended kinship group than will males in terms of frequency of contact. Conversely males will tend to be in more frequent contact with their in-laws than with their own parental families and kinship groups.

Hypothesis 47: Frequency of couple contact with parental family or kinship group of either spouse will be positively associated with marital satisfaction.

Also dealing with the interaction of couples, Babchuk (pp. 178-179) with three separate samples of middle-class respondents, two selected purposively and one randomly, found that husbands initiated a greater number of mutual primary friendships shared by the couple than did wives, but that the initiative exercised by wives in developing friendship contacts for the pair was positively related to the length of time married. Contrary to his hypothesis that frequency of couple contact with kin would be inversely related to frequency of contact with primary friends, he found that frequency of contact with kin did not predict what the frequency of contact with primary friends would be, nor did the frequency of contact with primary friends predict the frequency of contact with kin. Confounding of results may have occurred due to failure to control for either employment status of the wife or residential distance of respondents from kin. Both would



appear necessary variables for further investigation, although a more fruitful line of research might focus on patterns of couple introversion-extroversion with respect to all patterns of interaction outside their nuclear family. Employment of the wife or status inconsistency, to cite only two possible examples, might be inversely related to contact with primary friends but unrelated to kin contact. In other words, for a meaningful interpretation to be assigned couple interaction patterns, the factors facilitating or impeding contact with primary friends need to be taken into account. At the present stage of investigation, however, only the finding with respect to male dominance can be formulated:

Hypothesis 48: Among middle-class couples, husbands will initiate a greater number of mutual primary friendships shared by the couple than will wives. The difference will decrease through the life-cycle of the couple, with wives exercising more initiative in developing contacts for the pair with length of time married.

It will be noted that it is not known whether the above hypothesis can be generalized to lower-class respondents or not. At any rate, in conjunction with Hypothesis 46 it would appear that a counterbalancing effect is operative at least for middle-class couples, with wives taking the initiative in maintaining kin contacts and husbands taking the initiative in developing friendship contacts. The extent to which these findings are merely statistical or to which they are operative for specific couples, and the relationship of different patterns to marital satisfaction would merit further investigation. For example, greater frequency of contact with the wife's parents and greater initiation of primary friendship contacts by the wife might be indicative of a wife dominant power relationship and/or





marital dissatisfaction.

The relationship of the wife's extra-family interaction patterns to relationships within the nuclear family are somewhat less clear-cut. Nelson (pp. 181-183) postulated a "lump of sociability", a finite capacity for intimate or informal interaction, as a theoretical construct to examine connections between the external and internal relationships of nuclear families. Two types of extra-family contacts were distinguished: loosely-knit networks in which only two persons at a time know each other; and tightly-knit networks in which all persons know each other well. If there is a finite capacity for intimate or informal interaction, he then reasoned, this could be expended either in a companionate marital relationship or in a tightly-knit clique relationship. Stress would be engendered by the wife if her need for interaction was not met by either of these means, or if companionate demands from her husband and clique demands from a tightly-knit network placed competing demands on her finite pool of sociability. Using a sample of working-class mothers from intact families his data provided general support for this interpretation. Wives participating in clique relations (i.e., who saw two or more of the same individuals together at least once every week) were less likely than those with individualistic relations to conceive of their marital relationship in companionate terms. Furthermore, marital satisfaction was more frequently expressed when there was either a clique or a companionate family than when there was neither a companionate family or a clique, or when the respondent was both in a clique and had companionate orientations.



Employing a similar framework, albeit expressed in different terminology, Aldous and Straus (pp. 179-181) also examined the connection between network connectedness and marital role relationships, with quite different results. Their sample was comprised of four groups of married women: low and high income farm wives, and blue- and white-collar urban wives. In general, degree of network interconnectedness was found unrelated to a division of labor based on traditional conceptions of sex roles, to the power exercised by the husband in family decision-making, and to child socialization activities.

Some important methodological differences existed between the two studies which may account for the discrepancy in results. First, Aldous and Straus only established whether a closed network existed or not, by asking respondents to name the eight women she most often visited socially, and for each woman listed, how many of the other seven listed knew her. Nelson, on the other hand, determined not only whether a closed network existed, but whether it was used or not, by asking respondents to name the four individuals she saw most in her leisure time and how often they saw together two or more of the people listed. If this variable could account for the difference in results, however, it would be expected that the relationship would have held all the more strongly with Aldous and Straus' less stringent criteria, i.e., the women only had to know each other. A second point of difference between the two studies was that Nelson used attitudinal measures of traditional and companionate family relationships whereas Aldous and Straus used task differentiation and a balance of power score as their indices. It is not clear, however, what differences if any



should accrue from these variables. Finally, Aldous and Straus' sample suffers from severe sampling difficulties as the sample was purposively selected by county Home Economics Agents who also did the interviewing. Again, it is not clear, however, why on theoretical grounds the findings should not hold for a purposive, as well as a random sample as was employed by Nelson.

In addition to the foregoing major differences between studies, it appears to this writer that serious shortcomings are inherent in both studies insofar as: the employment status of the wife was not controlled; it was not determined whether the contacts listed by the respondents were kin or primary friends; and it was not determined whether the social network interactions were those of the wife alone or represented joint contacts by husband and wife. Aldous and Straus' restricted their respondents to listing the women most often visited socially, whereas the only restriction made by Nelson was that the individuals could not be married to each other who were listed by respondents.

In the context of the lower class, relatively immobile family, it may very well be that the female continues to receive emotional support from her mother, sisters, or old school friends and thus express satisfaction with a traditional marriage, and that lack of any emotional support would lead to dissatisfaction. What is less clear is why seeing two or more individuals together at least once a week combined with a companionate orientation toward marriage should be associated with marital dissatisfaction, unless for example this represents an overdependence on family support which is resented by





the husband, or a sharing of confidences he believes should be kept within the nuclear family. What is even less clear is why a companionate marriage should be associated with marital satisfaction when there are only individualistic contacts. In other words, what is being suggested is that the significance of the differences may be a resultant of only some of the hypothesized patterns in Nelson's study, confounding occurring due to his combining of categories into consistent cases (i.e., individualistic contacts and companionate family orientations; clique contacts and traditional family orientations) and inconsistent cases (i.e., individualistic contacts and traditional family orientations; clique contacts and companionate orientations). The notion of a "finite pool of sociability" as measured, seems even more ludicrous for the middle class family, for it would predict, for example, that a woman who met with a group of friends for bridge once a week, or had coffee with a stable group at work, would be predicted to be dissatisfied with a companionate marital relationship. Babchuk (pp. 178-179) with three independent samples of middle class couples found about half his respondents had no primary friends apart from their spouse. In his one random sample he also found a tendency for couples with three or more mutual friends also to have friends independent of each other, while couples with two or less mutual friends tended not to list any non-shared friends. The picture suggested is one of extroverted versus introverted marital couples, and why extroverted socially active couples would be satisfied with a traditional marriage (as predicted by Nelson, and by Aldous and Straus) but not with a companionate marriage is completely unclear.



In short, it would seem reasonable to predict not a finite lump of sociability, but a qualitative difference in the meaning of clique contacts for lower- and middle-class respondents (if any, as it will be remembered that Aldous and Straus' data were not supportive for either white- or blue-collar, rural or urban respondents). The following hypotheses are suggested:

Hypothesis 49: Among lower-class respondents, a traditional marital relationship will be associated with wife's marital satisfaction if she is engaged in a clique relationship in the external system; with wife's marital dissatisfaction if she has only individualistic contacts with the external system.

Hypothesis 50: Among middle-class respondents, and lower-class respondents with a companionate marital relationship, there will be no association between social network connectedness and marital satisfaction.

#### b. Leisure Activity Patterns

The studies by Nye (pp. 176-178) and Angrist (pp. 183-184) provide a liaison between studies focussing on extended family and informal social network involvement and those focussing on membership in voluntary associations, insofar as both studies examine the leisure activity patterns of women in terms of a wide variety of available possibilities, both formal and informal. Focussing on the relationship of maternal employment to patterns of leisure activity, Nye found that of mothers with at least one child in grades one or ten, those who were employed full-time visited less, telephoned less, attended fewer parties, and played cards less of ten than mothers employed part-time or not at all. No significant differences between the three groups were found with respect to participation in commercial or spectator



recreation; in family recreation, with the exception of TV watching, with mothers employed full-time viewing less than those employed part-time or not at all; or in organizational membership, although the full-time employed less often held leadership positions. Unfortunately the sample employed was extremely large ( $N = 1993$ ) and heterogeneous since social class was not controlled; to the extent that socioeconomic status is inversely associated with the rate of maternal employment, results could be at least partially accountable for by social class differences in the groups being compared.

Angrist's study avoided the problem of social class differences by utilizing a relatively homogeneous sample of female alumnae from the women's college of a coeducational university, hence predominantly if not entirely middle class. The relationship of maternal employment to leisure participation, however, was not examined, as respondents were simply described in terms of five modal categories: single, working full-time; married, living with husband, childless, working at least half-time; and three categories of married, living with husband, not working (i.e., preschool children only, preschool and school age children, and school age children only). That these are modal categories only and not definitive is suggested by the fact that the population comprised four successive classes of alumnae, and all returned questionnaires were categorized. That is, in such a large sample ( $N = 245$ ) it seems reasonable to assume at least some of the married women with children must have been employed. About the only conclusion which may therefore be drawn from her study is that single women, married childless women, and married women with children in





different stages of the family life cycle do not tend to have differential overall activity rates, but do tend to have different patterns of interests which can feasibly be pursued under conditions of available time.

The data from these two studies, while suggesting that there are different patterns of leisure-time activity for females by socio-economic status, employment status and stage of the family life cycle, do not really provide a clear-cut picture of the patterns which do exist. Furthermore, we are unable to assess the extent to which different types of activities may exist as structural alternatives in terms of means whereby the female may achieve a sense of self-esteem. It is also entirely probable that different patterns may have entirely different meanings for women with different role constellations. Nye's finding that employment status did not affect organizational membership, but that full-time employed mothers tended to less often hold leadership positions, strongly suggests that not only the fact of membership but also the degree of commitment or involvement must be taken into account. The working mother who attends a PTA meeting once a month may be doing so only because of her interest in her child's educational welfare; the housewife who is president of the same organization and devoting a considerable amount of time and effort to ensure its success, while she may be just as interested in her child's welfare, may also derive a considerable sense of status and self-fulfillment from the organization.



c. The Role of the Female in Voluntary Associations

Slater's study (pp. 171-172) of membership in voluntary associations suffers from many of the criticisms already put forth. Socioeconomic status was controlled, but neither employment status nor stage of the family life cycle were. The latter seems especially important in view of the fact that her sample of 365 urban married women ranged in age from 25 to 64, i.e., were quite heterogeneous. Her finding that upper white collar respondents were more likely to stress the maintenance of personal relationships in their conception of their role as a wife, whereas lower blue collar wives were more likely to stress routines of housekeeping, points to a qualitative difference in the focal concerns of women by socioeconomic status. Again although her criterion of membership was not a stringent one, a respondent being classified as a member if she belonged to at least one voluntary association with church-related groups and union membership counted, she found 56 per cent of the lower blue collar wives were nonmembers compared to 28 per cent of the upper white collar wives. The question which then arises is whether paid employment, extended kinship contacts, or whatever, served the same purpose for nonmembers as the voluntary association did for members.

Moore (pp. 173-174) examined the members of women's boards of three upper-class and three middle-class hospitals. She found that while the upper class boards commanded a significantly greater proportion of the women's time, overriding both the inconvenience of commuting and competing domestic demands, members of upper-class boards also belonged to more other associations than members of middle-class boards.



Furthermore, whereas the memberships of upper-class women tended to be metropolitan in nature (64% vs. 29%), memberships of middle-class women tended to be local (70% vs. 36%). Taken as a whole these studies suggest that:

Hypothesis 51: The inverse relationship between rate of married women in the labor force and socioeconomic status arises from the greater opportunities for women in higher statuses to gain esteem and self-fulfillment in nonremunerative ways, e.g. through voluntary associations.

Extensive participation in voluntary associations requires both time and money, money for babysitters, clothes, and transportation. Also as the organization increases in prestige and scope, from local to metropolitan concern, recruitment procedures become more stringent. In order to achieve a companionate marriage, and to avoid being "just a housewife" with the negative connotations this label implies for couples with companionate orientations, it may therefore well be that paid employment is increasingly important as the only means of achieving these ideals as we move from upper to lower class respondents. Where a traditional pattern exists, especially in lower socioeconomic strata, esteem may well accrue from performing the housewife-mother role well, with extended kinship contacts providing emotional support.

## 7. Conclusions

The foregoing analysis was intended to convey some measure of insight, limited though it may be, into the complexities of the role alternatives available to the adult female in contemporary society. Adequate coverage of any one of the topic headings surveyed would require a much more comprehensive examination of the literature available,





both in terms of the range of material covered and in terms of the time span considered, to incorporate the many excellent "pioneering" works published in the 1950's. Analysis is also limited by the failure to survey some of the more deviant types of phenomena associated with the female role: divorce, the unwed mother, prostitution. All of these phenomena would provide valuable insights into the stresses inherent in modern society and the more extreme types of accommodation to these stresses.

The modern female in Western society has perhaps more alternatives available to her than any group of individuals have ever had at any time throughout history. Without violating any general cultural prescriptions she may be a full-time housewife-mother either in isolation from or in addition to engaging in a wide variety of organized remunerative or nonremunerative pursuits in external social systems; or she may elect a full-time career either with or without marriage and motherhood. But surprisingly little is known of the predisposing, attracting, or facilitating factors upon which her decision is made, or about the meanings of these decisions once they have been made.

A central thesis of this paper has been the position that both personality and role behaviors are acquired through the process of interaction with meaningful others. Based on an initial internalization of the social system of the nuclear family, the female progressively internalizes an increasingly wider variety of social systems as she comes into meaningful contact with them, generalizing from them expectations about other social systems, learning to value



and to evaluate, as she formulates a conception of self and her relation to the world. To the extent that she has the ability to choose, then, in any specific situation the assumption is made that attitudes will influence the nature of that choice and predispose her to behave in specifiable ways. A great deal more needs to be discovered as to how she perceives these choices, what values she places on them, and how strongly they are endorsed. More also needs to be known about the sources of satisfaction and sources of frustration deriving from the various choices which she does make--the impact on her husband's career and status, the subtle pressures exerted by family, friends, and employers. For, if it is acknowledged that the modern female does have more alternatives available to her, it must also be recognized that the very plurality of goals may engender anxiety, ambiguity, and vascillation. She also has the option of "leaving the field" just short of serious commitment more readily than does the male, whether "the field" be that of career, home, or voluntary activities.

It is, perhaps, too easy to fall into the trap of advocating a serious career commitment for all women as the most viable pattern for a useful and rewarding life.<sup>24</sup> On the basis of sheer ability alone, leaving aside all other considerations for the moment, it must be realized that not all women are capable of a level of career achievement, pursued seriously and on a full-time basis, which would be commensurate with their own expectations or their husbands' status. Even if holding a favorable attitude toward the employment of married women in general, the successful businessman, for example, might be



unwilling to allow his wife to work as a secretary because it would detract from his own status, competent as she might be in that field. He might be quite proud, however, and she might derive equal satisfaction from, utilizing her same skills in serious, time-consuming, but unpaid volunteer activity. The former would be interpreted as career failure from his perspective and that of their relevant reference groups, the latter as unselfish dedication to the community.

What is relevant, then, is not only the attitude toward the employment of married women by her husband and significant reference groups, but also what their attitude would be toward the specific type of employment in which any individual woman would be engaged if she did work. Viewed in this perspective, the researcher is forced to take cognizance of the fact that what from his upper middle class perspective may appear as a menial "job" may represent a considerable achievement and source of satisfaction for the woman in that "job". Everyone who has ever eaten in a restaurant or purchased an item in a store can recognize and appreciate the difference between the waitress or salesclerk who is competent in her job and proud of it, and the one who is not. The prestige of a large store, the fact that she is meeting and enjoys meeting people, and the contribution of her earnings to family goals may afford a considerable source of satisfaction and self-esteem to the salesclerk whose husband is a plant operator, and to him as well as he compares his wife to the wives of his associates who "do nothing all day but sit around and drink coffee". Needless to say, the same position held by the wife of the plant foreman might be a source of considerable embarrassment to him if the working wives





of his associates are nurses or schoolteachers, i.e., employed in more "professional" occupations.

This raises still another problem, that of unequal career development of spouses when both are employed. More attention needs to be directed towards both acceptable levels of maximum and minimum achievement by the female. In short, future research must take into account the meaning of the various alternatives available to the actors in the specific situation, both husband and wife, for an adequate understanding, mapping, and prediction of the role constellations of the contemporary adult female.



# FOOTNOTES

1. Brim, Orville G., Jr., "Socialization through the life cycle," in Brim, Orville G., Jr., and Wheeler, Stanton, Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays, N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966, see especially p. 26.
2. Ginzberg, Eli and associates, Life Styles of Educated Women, New York: Columbia University Press, 1966. This study grew out of an original proposal to investigate the career development of a group of fellowship winners, both males and females, at Columbia University. An initial questionnaire revealed the impossibility of treating the career patterns of males and females within the same research design, leading to the consequent development of two separate investigations. The striking difference that was revealed between these parallel investigations was that "the men followed a relatively simple and straightforward pattern compared with the much more complex career and life patterns characteristic of the majority of ... women," pp. 4-5.
3. The best known proponents of this position are Bernard, Jessie, Social Problems at Midcentury: Role, Status, and Stress in a Context of Abundance, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957, especially Chapter 15, "Status and role problems of modern women: family and worker roles," pp. 340-361, and Komarovsky, Mirra, "Cultural contradictions and sex roles," American Journal of Sociology, 52 (November, 1946), pp. 184-189.
4. See also Wallin, Paul, "Cultural contradictions and sex roles: a repeat study," American Sociological Review, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 288-293; Sussman, Marvin B., "Needed research on the employed mother," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 368-373; Bernard, Jessie, Academic Women, Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1966, p. 58; Ginzberg, op. cit., p. 11.
5. This pattern is described in Rainwater, Lee, Coleman, Richard P., and Handel, Gerald, Workingman's Wife: Her Personality, World and Life Style, N.Y.: Oceana, 1959, and Komarovsky, Mirra, Blue-Collar Marriage, N.Y.: Vintage, 1962.
6. Ginzberg, op. cit., points out that in spite of the diversity of patterns with respect to education, marriage, and career, "Those who wanted very much to pursue a career were usually able to cope with the problems of family as well, and those who found satisfaction in homemaking and child rearing or who felt these took precedence over other concerns did not choose full-time careers," p. 129.



7. The concept of a "field of eligibles," social attributes on which homogamy functions, was introduced by Winch, R. F., Mate Selection, N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1958.
8. This interpretation is also supported by Reece, Michael M., "Masculinity and femininity: a factor analytic study," Psychological Reports, 14 (February, 1964), pp. 123-139. This study, employing male and female undergraduate college students grew out of his clinical observations that despite widely talked-about and casually accepted changes, the tendency to view masculinity and femininity in terms of the old stereotypes continues unabated.
9. Parsons, Talcott, "Family structure and the socialization of the child," in Parsons, Talcott and Bales, Robert F., Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, N.Y.: Free Press, 1955, pp. 35-131. Parsons comments that, "The father role is, relative to the others high both on power and on 'instrumentality'--hence low on 'expressiveness'," p. 45. It is the assumption of a single dimension that is being questioned here, not the assumption that the father role is relatively higher than the wife, daughter, and son roles on instrumentality.
10. Wolfe, Donald M., "Power and authority in the family," in Cartwright, Dorwin (Ed.), Studies in Social Power, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1959, pp. 99-117.
11. Rodman, Hyman, "Marital power in France, Greece, Yugoslavia and the United States: a cross-national discussion," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 320-324.
12. A similar finding was reported by Tharp (pp. 119-120) in his factor analytic study of marriage-role expectations and marriage-role perceived enactments. Division of responsibility included the factors of role-sharing, social influence, masculine authority, and division of influence. Thus, he concluded it is not meaningful to inquire after a husband-dominant or wife-dominant pattern.
13. Komarovsky, Blue Collar Marriage, op. cit., pp. 225-226. This study consisted of 58 blue collar marriages in which subjects were all white, not over 40 years of age, and had at least one child; and were predominantly native born (all but one) and Protestant (101 out of the 116 respondents). Respondents were asked to indicate extent of agreement with the statements: "Equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters," and "Men should make the really important decisions in the family." Eighty per cent of the uneducated men and women agreed with these statements, and 30% checked "I agree alot". On the





other hand, 57% of the high school graduates endorsed these propositions and 17% checked, "I agree alot." It should be kept in mind that this was a relatively homogeneous population with respect to education, no respondents having more than 4 years of high school, and that the relationship could be expected to hold all the more strongly in a more heterogeneous population. Cross-cultural support is provided by Buric and Zecevic's Yugoslavian study (pp. 134-137) in which it was found that husband's education was negatively correlated with his traditional ideology.

14. Heer, David M., "The measurement and bases of family power: an overview," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (May, 1963), pp. 133-139.
15. The literature surveyed represents only a small portion of the current research on power relations in the nuclear family. For a more comprehensive bibliography and discussion refer to Zelditch, Morris, Jr., "Family, marriage and kinship," in Faris, Robert E. (Ed.), Handbook of Modern Sociology, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964, pp. 680-733.
16. Hobbs (pp. 154-155) in a third study of parenthood as crisis endeavored to compare his findings with those from the previous two studies. He reports having written Dyer requesting a copy of his instrument, but that Dyer indicated he was not satisfied with the measure used and that another research project had interrupted the revision which had been started. That is, apparently a copy of the scale was not forthcoming.
17. Bernard, Jessie, Academic Women, New York: Meridian, 1966. In Chapter 3, "Demand: the theory and practice of discrimination," pp. 41-55, data is examined concerning the supply and demand of academic women, the allocation system for rewards, the functionality of the criteria, awards, and academic positions.
18. Ginzberg and associates, op. cit., pp. 104-107.
19. Bernard, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
20. Ginzberg, op. cit., pp. 38-40. Of the 311 female ex-graduate students from Columbia studied, 43 per cent indicated that they continued their studies because they enjoyed them or because of external influences from other people. That is, nearly half were not motivated by career objectives.
21. Bernard, op. cit., pp. 59-60.
22. Ibid., see especially Chapter 5, "Differences between academic men and academic women," pp. 75-84, and Chapter 8, "Teachers and



professors: subject-matter areas," pp. 114-126.

23. Both Bernard and Ginzberg provide extensive bibliographies of the literature in this area.
24. See for example Friedan, Betty, The Feminine Mystique, New York: Dell, 1963, and Hunt, Morton M., Her Infinite Variety, New York: Harper and Row, 1962.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY OF CENTRAL PROBLEMS

One of the distinctive features of the discipline of sociology has been the primacy which has been accorded to the concept of the social, i.e., to the concept of community. In fact, Nisbet<sup>1</sup> has distinguished the concept of community as one of the five basic unit-ideas of the sociological tradition (the other four unit-ideas being: authority, status, the sacred, and alienation). Of central concern in this emphasis on the community has been the study of the breakdown or disintegration of traditional forms of association.

While dualistic conceptions of human society are as old as history, a continuing interest in such dualistic conceptions within the discipline of sociology can be traced to the writings of Tönnies and Max Weber. Tönnies conceptualization of European development was of human society as moving from a state of Gemeinschaft, characterized by a complex of affective states, habits, and traditions, to a state of Gesellschaft characterized by a high degree of individualism, impersonality, contractualism, and proceeding from volition or sheer interest. A similar orientation can be seen in Weber's ideal types of the traditional and the rational types of society. Not only was the concept of Gemeinschaft or traditionalism thought to apply to types of society, but also to certain groups of individuals within society, namely women, the young, and the masses. Similarly, Gesellschaft, modernism, or rationalism was thought to be typical of men, the aged, and the educated classes. Within this framework, the processes of urbanization and industrialization can be regarded as a transition not only of societies





from a Gemeinschaft to a Gesellschaft type of organization, but also of a conversion through emancipation to a Gesellschaft orientation of those groups formerly characterized by a Gemeinschaft orientation--women, the young, and the masses.

This transition has been variously viewed both positively and negatively. Positively, it has been regarded as a move towards egalitarianism or universalism, and as such is inexorably tied to the role of the female in contemporary society. Negatively, it has been regarded as leading to the disintegration and disorganization of both society and the family. Beginning with the traditional assumption that the family is a hierarchy in which the male head is the final authority, then the transition is regarded as a menace insofar as it presents a loss of masculine privileges. The tension arises from the fact that any change in role relationships necessitates changes on both sides: as children, women, and the masses acquire greater autonomy and freedom of self-expression, then adults, men, and the educated must correspondingly relinquish some of the unquestioned authority which had been granted them in the past.

As Goode has succinctly put it:

The central problem is an empirical one: What was the past? What is the present? There is general agreement that the woman has obtained considerably greater freedom than she possessed a half-century ago, and that the old "patriarchal family" is uncommon in Western countries; but in many specific areas of conduct, the husband is dominant in every family system of the West. Moreover, and more important for an analysis of time trends, we can ascertain, at least intuition-ally, from a reading of books of advice, philosophical discussions, speeches, and diaries from the past that the ideal of the dominant male used to be much stronger than at present, but anyone who has had personal experience with a wide range of older families knows very well that women often



had great power, and that even when she deferred to the man publicly, she often managed to have her way just the same.<sup>2</sup>

The above quotation clearly points to the necessity of a convergence between empirical research and theoretical constructs, to the necessity of empirically establishing the extent to which the Gesellschaft ideal type is an accurate representation of contemporary society. One possible approach would have been that of historical or comparative analysis through an assessment of the change in degree of central family characteristics over some period of time, say the last one hundred years. There is little question that a change in ideology has occurred, as has been witnessed by legal and social changes in education, property laws, labor legislation, and the like. The empirical problem of such an approach would be that of establishing the extent to which an egalitarian ideology was and is actually held and of establishing the fit between ideology and actual behavior.

The present investigation of the female sex role can be regarded as falling within this tradition of assessing the impact of urbanization and industrialization, i.e., modernism, on society and the family, and in turn the impact of the family as the chief socializing agency back onto society. The goal has been much more limited than that of the macrosociologists such as Tönnies and Weber who attempted to depict this impact on whole societies on a cross-cultural basis. Rather it has been an attempt to examine the impact on one of the groups of individuals held to be characterized by a Gemeinschaft orientation, namely women, and the extent to which through emancipation they have begun to approximate the Gesellschaft ideal type in Western



society. Even more restrictively, the data examined has been primarily drawn from respondents in the United States. Historical changes in the status of women have not been systematically examined, but rather have been taken as indicative of the types of changes which have occurred and against which contemporary female roles can be assessed.

#### A. Adult Female Sex Roles

In attempting to assess the degree of fit between a modern egalitarian ideology and the actual roles in which contemporary adult females engage, the first empirical problem to be addressed was whether the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft dichotomy was adequate to represent the complexity of adult female roles. The tentative answer which was suggested was that it was not, but rather that it is necessary to identify three patterns of roles as an absolute minimum, rather than only two. In addition to the traditional housewife-mother role and the modern career role, it was suggested that there is a third type of role, a companionship role, which may fulfill the expectations of an egalitarian ideology while not necessarily implying commitment of the female to a full-time, uninterrupted career role. It was suggested that women in both the traditional housewife-mother and companionship roles would place primary emphasis on their duties as wife and mother within the nuclear family. The difference between these two roles is that whereas this would serve as virtually the only emphasis of a woman in the traditional role, women in the companionship role would also be seriously engaged in roles additional to their family role--in voluntary organizations, part-time remunerative employment, or





serious commitment to some amateur and skilled endeavor, for example, in sports or the creative arts. Historical analysis may well reveal that this companionship role always existed, and accounts for the fact that some women wielded considerable power and influence even in societies which stressed male dominance as the ideal. The modern trend toward an egalitarian ideology may then not so much have served to create a new role for women in terms of an uninterrupted serious career commitment, as it served merely to extend the already-existing companionship role in this direction.

The second empirical problem to be examined was that of how the female's entry into one of these three alternative roles is facilitated as she achieves married status. It was suggested that there may tend to be a homogamy in mate selection which functions upon a field of eligibles, consisting not only of social attributes such as race, religion, socioeconomic status, and level of education, but also of similarity in beliefs about feminine personality traits and female role behavior. That is, the female who aspires to a full-time career role will tend to select, and be selected by, a male who similarly endorses this type of a role for his future wife. Research is necessary to establish the validity of this suggestion, the sources of modifications which may occur through time in the actual behavior of the female throughout her marriage, and to assess the amount of stress which may be engendered and its mode of resolution when couples marry who hold dissimilar expectations with respect to the married female's role.



The third empirical problem examined was that of how role expectations and enactments are actually related to marital satisfaction and dissatisfaction. It was found that the data suggest marital satisfaction will be associated with a shared common view of marriage. However, as real similarity between husband and wife decreases, marital satisfaction will be associated with the ability of the wife to accurately perceive her husband's role expectations, and with the congruency of her expectations and his role performance. The opposite relationship will hold for the male, i.e., as real similarity decreases, marital satisfaction will be related to his perceiving his wife's expectations incorrectly. This suggests that as real similarity decreases, the onus for adaptation is placed on the female rather than upon the male for the achievement of a satisfactory marital relationship. In other words, if homogamy in mate selection does not function to select husbands and wives with similar expectations, the suggestion is that it is the wife who will have to adapt to her husband's position. Further evidence suggests that the greater real congruency between spouses who are happily married arises from an expansion of traditional male and female roles to incorporate elements of the other. This may be mitigated somewhat if there is a counterbalancing of personality traits such that each spouse scores highly on some traits. Similar findings were indicated for task allocation or role sharing. Further research is necessary to establish the relationship between these findings and the actual type of role in which the female performs, given the expectations of her husband and his perception of her expectations. Without some type of a longitudinal design it is not



possible to determine whether the lack of a relationship between marital satisfaction and wife's employment status is due to homogamy in mate selection or to adjustments between expectations and behavior subsequent to marriage. Possibly both factors are operative although the extent and nature of such patterns cannot be determined from the data currently available.

A fourth empirical problem to be examined was that of how the balance of power in the nuclear family will be affected by the type of role in which the wife is engaged. It was suggested that a fruitful approach to this question would take into consideration the comparative resources (i.e., valued attributes) of the husband and wife vis-a-vis each other, their comparative resources as evaluated within their social milieu, the normative expectations concerning the balance of power within a particular family, and the normative expectations concerning the balance of power within the social milieu in which the family is located. It might be suggested that the balance of power moves from one of male dominance to one of equalitarianism as the wife occupies the traditional, companionship, or career (partner) role respectively. It might further be suggested that subsequent studies of power relationships in the nuclear family concentrate on typologies of power relationships to take into consideration its nonunidimensionality. More attention might also be focussed on specific instances in which the wife exerts power over her husband, merely than on those instances where she gains greater autonomy for self.

A fifth empirical problem to be investigated was that of the effect of role or status inconsistency on the female's performance of





her role or her satisfaction with that role. It was suggested that women with a low degree of role or status consistency would be more likely to be subjected to disturbing experiences in the interaction process due to inconsistencies engendered by such discontinuities. Three types of possible negative reactions were suggested: they could be turned outward against the political system as reflected in a desire for political change (i.e., associated with political liberalism); they could be directed against the family or spouse and expressed as marital dissatisfaction or in the form of a crisis experience with the birth of the first child; or they could be directed inwards against the self as expressed by psychosomatic symptoms or a greater tendency to play the sick role during pregnancy. Further studies should incorporate these as possible alternative manifestations of the same underlying problem of role or status inconsistency, rather than merely trying to establish an association between one type of inconsistency and one type of symptom or behavior.

Finally, a sixth empirical problem to be investigated was that of an in depth examination of the involvement of the contemporary female in career, extended family, and community roles. In view of the assumption that it is necessary to distinguish a minimum of three types of roles in which the contemporary female may be engaged, future research might focus on an examination of the manner in which these three types of commitment beyond the nuclear family per se can be regarded as structural alternatives. That is, an egalitarian ideology may be maintained and the female may be able to maintain a sense of self-esteem or personal worth from participation in any one,



or combinations from all three, of these types of commitment. There is also some indication that participation in extended family or community roles may also serve as alternatives to an egalitarian family ideology, and serve as supportive functions for a traditional male dominance ideology.

#### B. Socialization into the Female Sex Role

If the assumption that the transition from a Gemeinschaft to a Gesellschaft orientation is incomplete for the adult female in contemporary society is accepted as valid, then it follows that the female child may be socialized into not one but several types of alternative role expectations and behaviors. These may be either the "pure" ideal types of the traditional wife-mother role or the straight career role, or some intermediate type such as the companionship role previously suggested.

The empirical problem examined was that of attempting to isolate those factors which would tend to be associated with a preference for one of these possible roles by the time the female attained adolescent status and the capacity to choose for herself. That is, the assumption was made that the adolescent female has a choice between three distinctive types of adult roles in which she may participate, but that her motivation to engage in any one of these possible alternatives will be mitigated by her learning experiences throughout her childhood.

While the data available was extremely limited, and studies did not tend to integrate with each other to any appreciable degree,



certain tentative predictions were offered. It can be suggested that middle class socioeconomic status, small family size, the presence of male siblings only, a mother who was employed for the major portion of her life, a supportive attitude of her father towards her mother's employment, and an egalitarian relationship between her mother and father, would be associated with the motivation of the adolescent female to embark upon a full-time career goal. Conversely, lower socioeconomic status, large family size, the presence of same-sex siblings or siblings of both sexes, a mother who was a full-time housewife for the major portion of her life, a negative attitude of her father toward female employment, and a traditional male dominance relationship between her mother and father (accepted by both) would be associated with the motivation of the adolescent female to embark on a traditional wife-mother role. Detailed research is necessary to ascertain the effect of deviations from these clusters of family variables on the role choice of the adolescent female.

### C. Conclusions

In conclusion it may be suggested that perhaps one of the greatest problems in empirical research on the female sex role in contemporary society resides in the fact that alternative roles are still in a state of flux and are even at the present time in the process of social change. No simple dichotomy can be established between a traditional wife-mother only role and a modern career role. Rather some clusters of factors may be isolated which would tend toward motivating the adolescent female to either of these extreme types of





orientation, with the recognition that for many, if not most, a compromise orientation will be the mode. The vast majority of females will enter the labor force at some point in their lives. However, only a small proportion of these will engage in uninterrupted career patterns, either with or without marriage. For most, the primary commitment will be to their husbands and families, with their career relegated to secondary, or perhaps at most equal, importance. Whereas the male has virtually no choice as to whether to work or not, the motivation of the female towards a career may be undermined in the process of socialization as she learns that she is not to take a career seriously or that certain fields are male fields to which she should not aspire.

It has been suggested that the trend from a traditional male dominance ideology to a modern egalitarian ideology has proceeded further in the middle and upper classes than it has among lower-class respondents. Goode views this differential rate of ideological change as resulting in two tensions:

Lower-class men concede fewer rights ideologically than their women in fact obtain, and the more educated men are likely to concede more rights ideologically than they in fact grant. One partial resolution of the latter tension is to be found in the frequent assertion from families of professional men that they should not make demands which would interfere with his work. He takes precedence as professional, not as family head or as male; nevertheless, the precedence is his. By contrast, lower-class men demand deference as men, as heads of families.<sup>3</sup>

This assertion would be consistent with the analysis conducted herein. To the extent that it can be accepted as valid, two major empirical problems remain:

1. To assess the extent of an acceptance of an egalitarian ideology,



by socioeconomic status and in various subsections of the population (moreover, to investigate the meaning of an egalitarian ideology to such diverse groups); and

2. To assess the extent to which the role of the female in such subsections of the population corresponds to the predominant ideology.

To the extent that the tensions as suggested by Goode are in fact operative, a profitable approach might be that of considering the socialization of the female into adult roles as persisting beyond adolescence and into adulthood. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that in the case of the female sex role, attention must be directed not only to her motivations and expectations as an adolescent, but also to her subsequent success or failure in being able to attain her goal, and to the interrelationship of her preferred role choice with her husband's expectations, career development, or job performance.



FOOTNOTES

1. Nisbet, Robert A., The Sociological Tradition, N.Y.: Basic Books, Inc., 1966. See especially Chapter 3, "Community," pp. 47-106.
2. Goode, William J., World Revolution and Family Patterns, N.Y.: The Free Press, 1963, p. 66 (emphasis in original).
3. Ibid., pp. 21-22 (emphasis in original).





## BIBLIOGRAPHY\*

- Aldous, Joan and Straus, Murray A., "Social networks and conjugal roles: a test of Bott's hypothesis," Social Forces, 44 (June, 1966), pp. 576-580. (Abstracted on pp. 179-181.)
- Allport, G. W., "The historical background of modern social psychology," in Lindzey, G. (Ed.), Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 2, Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1954.
- Angrist, Shirley S., "Role constellation as a variable in women's leisure activities," Social Forces, 45 (March, 1967), pp. 423-431. (Abstracted on pp. 183-184.)
- Atkinson, J. W. (Ed.), Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society, Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958.
- Axelson, Leland J., "The marital adjustment and marital role definitions of husbands of working and nonworking wives," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (May, 1963), pp. 189-195. (Abstracted on pp. 116-117.)
- Axelson, Leland J., "Personal adjustment in the postparental period," Marriage and Family Living, 22 (February, 1960), pp. 66-68. (Abstracted on pp. 103-104.)
- Babchuk, Nicholas, "Primary friends and kin: a study of the associations of middle class couples," Social Forces, 43 (May, 1965), pp. 483-493. (Abstracted on pp. 178-179.)
- Babchuk, Nicholas and Bates, Alan P., "The primary relations of middle-class couples: a study in male dominance," American Sociological Review, 28 (June, 1963), pp. 377-384. (Abstracted on pp. 144-145.)
- Bernard, Jessie, Academic Women, Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1966.
- Bernard, Jessie, Social Problems at Midcentury: Role, Status, and Stress in a Context of Abundance, N.Y.: The Dryden Press, 1957.
- Blood, Robert O., "The husband-wife relationship," in Nye, F. Ivan and Hoffman, Lois Wladis (Eds.), The Employed Mother in America, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963, pp. 282-305.

---

\*Empirical studies which have been abstracted and incorporated in the body of the text are so indicated in parentheses following the bibliographical description of the article.



- Blood, Robert O., Jr., "The measurement and bases of family power: a rejoinder," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (November, 1963), pp. 475-477.
- Blood, Robert O., Jr., and Wolfe, Donald M., Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living, New York: The Free Press, 1960. (Abstracted on pp. 128-131.)
- Bowlby, John, Child Care and the Growth of Love, London: Pelican Books, 1953.
- Bowlby, John, Maternal Care and Mental Health, Geneva: World Health Organization, 1952.
- Brim, Orville G., Jr., "Family structure and sex role learning by children: a further analysis of Helen Koch's data," Sociometry, 21 (March, 1958), pp. 1-16. (Abstracted on pp. 42-44.)
- Brim, Orville G., Jr., "Socialization through the life cycle," in Brim, Orville G., Jr., and Wheeler, Stanton, Socialization After Childhood: Two Essays, N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966, pp. 3-49.
- Broderick, Carlfred B., and Fowler, Stanley E., "New patterns of relationships between the sexes among preadolescents," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (February, 1961), pp. 27-30. (Abstracted on pp. 25-26.)
- Brown, Daniel G., "Sex-role preference in children: methodological problems," Psychological Reports, 11 (October, 1962), pp. 477-478.
- Brown, Roger, Social Psychology, New York: The Free Press, 1965.
- Buerkle, Jack V., Anderson, Theodore R., and Badgley, Robin F., "Altruism, role conflict, and marital adjustment: a factor analysis of marital interaction," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (February, 1961), pp. 20-26. (Abstracted on pp. 107-108.)
- Burchinal, Lee G., "Personality characteristics of children," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 106-121, expansion by the author of an article of the same title by Lee G. Burchinal and Jack Rossman from Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 334-340. (Abstracted on pp. 38-39.)
- Buric, Olivera and Zecevic, Andjelka, "Family authority, marital satisfaction, and the social network in Yugoslavia," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 325-336. (Abstracted on pp. 134-137.)





- Carlson, Earl R., and Carlson, Rae, "Male and female subjects in personality research," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 61 (February, 1960), pp. 482-483.
- Christensen, Harold T., "Lifetime family and occupational role projections of high school students," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (May, 1961), pp. 181-183. (Abstracted on pp. 93-94.)
- Conyers, James E., "Employers' attitudes toward working mothers," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 372-383, expanded and revised from "Employers' attitudes toward working mothers," Sociology and Social Research, 45 (January, 1961), pp. 145-156. (Abstracted on pp. 163-164.)
- Couch, Carl J., "Family role specialization and self-attitudes in children," Sociological Quarterly, 3 (April, 1962), pp. 115-121. (Abstracted on p. 28.)
- Cutler, Beverly R. and Dyer, William G., "Initial adjustment processes in young married couples," Social Forces, 44 (December, 1965), pp. 195-201. (Abstracted on pp. 123-124.)
- Douvan, Elizabeth, "Employment and the adolescent," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 142-164. (Abstracted on pp. 41-42.)
- Dyer, Everett D., "Parenthood as crisis: a re-study," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (May, 1963), pp. 196-201. (Abstracted on pp. 152-154.)
- Dyer, William G., "Analyzing marital adjustment using role theory," Marriage and Family Living, 24 (November, 1962), pp. 371-375.
- Elder, Glen H., Jr., and Bowerman, Charles E., "Family structure and child-rearing patterns: the effect of family size and sex composition," American Sociological Review, 28 (December, 1963), pp. 891-905. (Abstracted on pp. 44-46.)
- Fava, Sylvia Fleis, "The status of women in professional sociology," American Sociological Review, 25 (April, 1960), pp. 271-276. (Abstracted on pp. 167-168.)
- Feld, Sheila, "Feelings of adjustment," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 331-353. (Abstracted on pp. 115-116.)
- Foote, Nelson N., "New roles for men and women," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 325-329.
- French, Elizabeth G., and Lesser, Gerald S., "Some characteristics of the achievement motive in women," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 68 (1964), pp. 119-128.





- Frieden, Betty, The Feminine Mystique, New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1964.
- Ginzberg, Eli and associates, Life Styles of Educated Women, New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.
- Goldfarb, William, "Emotional and intellectual consequences of psychological deprivation in infancy," in Paul H. Hock and Joseph Zubin, Psychopathology of Childhood, New York: Grune and Stratton, 1955, pp. 105-119.
- Goode, William J., World Revolution and Family Patterns, N.Y.: The Free Press, 1963.
- Gray, Robert M., and Smith, Ted C., "Effect of employment on sex differences in attitudes toward the parental family," Marriage and Family Living, 22 (February, 1960), pp. 36-38. (Abstracted on pp. 172-173.)
- Haavio-Mannila, Elina, "Sex differentiation in role expectations and performance," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (August, 1967), pp. 568-578.
- Hall, Marjorie and Keith, Robert A., "Sex-role preference among children of upper and lower social class," Journal of Social Psychology, 62 (February, 1964), pp. 101-110.
- Hansen, Donald A., "Personal and positional influence in formal groups: propositions and theory for research on family vulnerability to stress," Social Forces, 44 (December, 1965), pp. 202-210.
- Heatherington, E. Mavis, "A developmental study of the effects of sex of the dominant parent on sex-role preference, identification, and imitation in children," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 2 (August, 1965), pp. 188-194.
- Heer, David M., "Dominance and the working wife," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 251-262 adapted from Social Forces, 36 (May, 1958), pp. 341-347. (Abstracted on pp. 138-139.)
- Heer, David M., "Husband and wife perceptions of family power structure," Marriage and Family Living, 24 (February, 1962), pp. 65-67. (Abstracted on pp. 137-138.)
- Heer, David M., "The measurement and bases of family power: an overview," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (May, 1963), pp. 133-139.
- Heer, David M., "Reply," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (November, 1963), pp. 477-478.



- Heilbrun, Alfred B., Jr., "Parental identification and college adjustment," Psychological Reports, 10 (May, 1962), pp. 853-854.
- Heilbrun, Alfred B., Jr., "Sex-role identity and achievement motivation," Psychological Reports, 12 (April, 1963), pp. 483-490.
- Heiss, Jerold S., "Degree of intimacy and male-female interaction," Sociometry, 25 (June, 1962), pp. 197-208. (Abstracted on pp. 143-144.)
- Hobbs, Daniel F., Jr., "Parenthood as crisis: a third study," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 27 (August, 1965), pp. 367-372. (Abstracted on pp. 154-155.)
- Hoffman, Lois Wladis, "Effects on children: summary and discussion," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 190-212.
- Hoffman, Lois Wladis, "Mother's enjoyment of work and effects on the child," ibid., pp. 95-105, reprinted from Child Development, 32 (March, 1961), pp. 187-197. (Abstracted on pp. 22-23, and 33-36.)
- Hoffman, Lois Wladis, "Parental power relations and the division of household tasks," in ibid., pp. 215-230, reprinted from Marriage and Family Living, 22 (February, 1960), pp. 27-35. (Abstracted on pp. 139-141.)
- Hofstadter, Richard, Social Darwinism in American Thought, Revised Edition, New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1965.
- Homans, George C., The Human Group, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950.
- Hunt, Morton M., Her Infinite Variety, New York: Harper and Row, 1962.
- Hurvitz, Nathan, "The components of marital roles," Sociology and Social Research, 45 (April, 1961), pp. 301-309. (Abstracted on p. 109.)
- Hurvitz, Nathan, "Control roles, marital strain, role deviation, and marital adjustment," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 27 (February, 1965), pp. 29-31. (Abstracted on pp. 122-123.)
- Hurvitz, Nathan, "The measurement of marital strain," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May, 1960), pp. 610-615. (Abstracted on pp. 104-105.)
- Irish, Donald P., "Sibling interaction: a neglected aspect in family life research," Social Forces, 42 (March, 1964), pp. 279-288.





- Kammeyer, Kenneth, "Birth order and the feminine sex role among college women," American Sociological Review, 31 (August, 1966), pp. 508-515. (Abstracted on pp. 47-48)
- Kammeyer, Kenneth, "The feminine role: an analysis of attitude consistency," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 26 (August, 1964), pp. 295-305. (Abstracted on pp. 94-95.)
- Kammeyer, Kenneth, "Sibling position and the feminine role," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (August, 1967), pp. 494-499. (Abstracted on pp. 48-49.)
- Kerkhoff, Alan C. and Davis, Keith E., "Value concensus and need complementarity in mate selection," American Sociological Review, 27 (June, 1962), pp. 295-303. (Abstracted on pp. 100-101.)
- Komarovsky, Mirra, "Cultural contradictions and sex roles," American Journal of Sociology, 52 (November, 1946), pp. 184-189.
- Komarovsky, Mirra, "Functional analysis of sex roles," American Sociological Review, 15 (August, 1950), pp. 508-516.
- Kosa, John and Coker, Robert E., Jr., "The female physician in public health conflict and reconciliation of the sex and professional roles," Sociology and Social Research, 49 (1965), pp. 294-305. (Abstracted on pp. 169-171.)
- Kosa, John, Rachiele, Leo D., and Schommer, Cyril O., "Marriage, career and religiousness among Catholic college girls," Marriage and Family Living, 24 (November, 1962), pp. 376-380. (Abstracted on pp. 96-97.)
- Kotlar, Sally L., "Instrumental and expressive marital roles," Sociology and Social Research, 46 (January, 1962), pp. 186-194. (Abstracted on pp. 110-112.)
- Kotlar, Sally L., "Middle-class marital role perceptions and marital adjustment," Sociology and Social Research, 49 (1965), pp. 283-293. (Abstracted on pp. 120-121.)
- Kuhn, Manford H., "Self-attitudes by age, sex, and professional training," Sociological Quarterly, 1 (January, 1960), pp. 39-55.
- Lansky, Leonard M., and McKay, Gerald, "Sex role preferences of kindergarten boys and girls: some contradictory results," Psychological Reports, 13 (October, 1963), pp. 415-421.
- LeBon, Gustave, The Crowd, London: The Pitman Press, 1896.





- LeMasters, E. E., "Parenthood as crisis," Marriage and Family Living, 19 (November, 1957), pp. 352-355. (Abstracted on pp. 151-152.)
- Luckey, Eleanore Braun, "Marital satisfaction and congruent self-spouse concepts," Social Forces, 39 (December, 1960), pp. 153-157. (Abstracted on pp. 106-107.)
- Luckey, Eleanore Braun, "Perceptual congruence of self and family concepts as related to marital interaction," Sociometry, 24 (September, 1961), pp. 234-250. (Abstracted on pp. 109-110.)
- Lutzker, Daniel R., "Sex role, cooperation and competition in a two-person, non-zero sum game," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 5 (December, 1961), pp. 366-368. (Abstracted on p. 23.)
- Lynn, David B., "Learning masculine and feminine roles," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (February, 1963), pp. 103-105.
- Lynn, David B., "The process of learning parental and sex-role identification," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (November, 1966), pp. 466-470.
- Lynn, D. B., "Sex differences in identification development," Sociometry, 24 (December, 1961), pp. 372-383.
- Maccoby, Eleanor E. (Ed.), The Development of Sex Differences, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.
- McClelland, D. C., The Achieving Society, Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961.
- McClelland, D. C. (Ed.), Studies in Motivation, New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1955.
- McClelland, D. C., Atkinson, J. W., Clark, R. A., and Lowell, E. L., The Achievement Motive, New York: Appleton-Century, 1953.
- Mead, Margaret, Male and Female, New York: Mentor Books, 1955.
- Merton, Robert K., Social Theory and Social Structure, Revised Edition, New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Michel, Andree, "Comparative data concerning the interaction in French and American families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 337-344. (Abstracted on pp. 131-132.)
- Middleton, Russell, and Putney, Snell, "Dominance in decisions in the family: race and class differences," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May, 1960), pp. 605-609. (Abstracted on pp. 142-143.)



- Moore, Joan W., "Patterns of women's participation in voluntary associations," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (May, 1961), pp. 592-598. (Abstracted on pp. 173-174.)
- Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, Volume 2, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1944.
- National Manpower Council, Womanpower, New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.
- Nelson, Joel I., "Clique contacts and family orientations," American Sociological Review, 31 (October, 1966), pp. 663-672. (Abstracted on pp. 181-183.)
- Nisbet, Robert A., The Sociological Tradition, N.Y.: Basic Books, 1966.
- Nolan, Francena L., "Effects on rural children," In Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 122-124. (Abstracted on pp. 32-33.)
- Nye, F. Ivan, "The adjustment of adolescent children," in ibid., pp. 133-141, adapted from "Maternal employment and the adjustment of adolescent children," Marriage and Family Living, 21 (August, 1959), pp. 240-244. (Abstracted on pp. 31-32.)
- Nye, F. Ivan, "Adjustment of the mother: summary and a frame of reference," in ibid., pp. 384-399.
- Nye, F. Ivan, "Adjustment of children," in ibid., pp. 353-362. (Abstracted on pp. 157-158.)
- Nye, F. Ivan, "Marital interaction," in ibid., pp. 263-281, revision of "Employment status of mothers and marital conflict, permanence, and happiness," Social Problems, 6 (Winter, 1958-1959), pp. 260-267, section from F. Ivan Nye and Evelyn MacDougall, "The dependent variable in marital research," Pacific Sociological Review, 2 (Fall, 1959), pp. 67-70, and F. Ivan Nye, "Maternal employment and marital interaction: some contingent conditions," Social Forces, 40 (December, 1961), pp. 113-119. (Abstracted on pp. 112-113.)
- Nye, F. Ivan, "Personal satisfactions," in ibid., pp. 320-330. (Abstracted on pp. 113-114.)
- Nye, F. Ivan, "Recreation and community," in ibid., pp. 363-371. (Abstracted on pp. 176-178.)
- Nye, F. Ivan, Perry, Joseph B., Jr., and Ogles, Richard H., "Anxiety and anti-social behavior in preschool children," in ibid., pp. 82-94. (Abstracted on p. 31.)





- Odenwald, Robert P., The Disappearing Sexes, New York: Random House, 1965.
- Parsons, Talcott and Bales, Robert F., Family, Socialization and Interaction Process, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1955.
- Perry, Joseph B., Jr., "Mother substitutes," in ibid., pp. 182-189, adapted from "The mother substitutes of employed mothers: an exploratory inquiry," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 362-367. (Abstracted on pp. 29-30.)
- Persons, Stow (Ed.), Social Darwinism: Selected Essays of William Graham Sumner, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
- Peterson, Evan T., "The impact of maternal employment on the mother-daughter relationship," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 355-361. (Abstracted on pp. 36-38.)
- Pickford, John H., Signori, Edro I., and Rempel, Henry, "The intensity of personality traits in relation to marital happiness," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (November, 1966), pp. 458-459. (Abstracted on p. 127.)
- Pickford, John H., Signori, Edro I., and Rempel, Henry, "Similar or related personality traits as a factor in marital happiness," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (May, 1966), pp. 190-192. (Abstracted on pp. 126-127.)
- Podell, Lawrence, "Sex and role conflict," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (May, 1966), pp. 163-165. (Abstracted on p. 93.)
- Powell, Kathryn S., "Family variables," in ibid., pp. 231-240. (Abstracted on pp. 114-115.)
- Powell, Kathryn Summers, "Maternal employment in relation to family life," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 350-355.
- Powell, Kathryn S., "Personalities of children and child-rearing attitudes of mothers," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 125-132. (Abstracted on p. 30 and p. 158.)
- Prodipto, Roy, "Adolescent roles: rural-urban differentials," in ibid., pp. 165-181, adapted from Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 340-349. (Abstracted on pp. 39-40.)
- Proshansky, Harold, and Seidenberg, Bernard, "Introduction: Problems of theory and method," in Proshansky and Seidenberg (Eds.), Basic Studies in Social Psychology, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.





- Rainwater, Lee, Coleman, Richard P., and Handel, Gerald, Workingman's Wife: Her Personality, World and Life Style, N.Y.: Oceana, 1959.
- Reece, Michael M., "Masculinity and femininity: a factor analytic study," Psychological Reports, 14 (February, 1964), pp. 123-139.
- Reiss, Paul J., "The extended kinship system: correlates of and attitudes on frequency of interaction," Marriage and Family Living, 24 (November, 1962), pp. 333-339. (Abstracted on pp. 175-176.)
- Rodman, Hyman, "Marital power in France, Greece, Yugoslavia, and the United States: a cross-national discussion," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 320-324.
- Rosengren, William R., "Social instability and attitudes toward pregnancy as a social role," Social Problems, 9 (Spring, 1962), pp. 371-378. (Abstracted on pp. 149-150.)
- Rosengren, William R., "Social sources of pregnancy as illness or normality," Social Forces, 39 (March, 1961), pp. 260-267. (Abstracted on pp. 147-148.)
- Rosengren, William R., "Social status, attitudes toward pregnancy and child-rearing attitudes," Social Forces, 41 (December, 1962), pp. 127-134. (Abstracted on pp. 150-151.)
- Safilios-Rothschild, Constantina, "A comparison of power structure and marital satisfaction in urban Greek and French families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 345-352. (Abstracted on pp. 132-134.)
- Scheinfeld, Amram, Women and Men, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943.
- Schmitt, David R., "An attitudinal correlate of the status congruency of married women," Social Forces, 44 (December, 1965), pp. 190-195. (Abstracted on pp. 125-126.)
- Selltiz, C., Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., and Cook, S. W., Research Methods in Social Relations, N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1959.
- Sharp, Lawrence J., "Employment status of mothers and some aspects of mental illness," American Sociological Review, 25 (October, 1960), pp. 714-717. (Abstracted on pp. 155-156.)
- Sharp, Lawrence J., and Nye, F. Ivan, "Maternal mental health," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 309-319. (Abstracted on pp. 156-157.)



- Sherif, M. and Sherif, C. W., An Outline of Social Psychology, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1956.
- Siegel, Alberta Engvall, Stolz, Lois Meek, Hitchcock, Ethel Alice, and Adamson, Jean, "Dependence and independence in children," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 67-81, adapted from "Dependence and independence in the children of working mothers," Child Development, 30 (December, 1959), pp. 533-546. (Abstracted on pp. 21-22.)
- Silverman, William and Hill, Reuben, "Task allocation in marriage in the United States and Belgium," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 29 (May, 1967), pp. 353-359. (Abstracted on pp. 145-147.)
- Slater, Carol, "Class differences in definition of role and membership in voluntary associations among urban married women," American Journal of Sociology, 65 (May, 1960), pp. 616-619. (Abstracted on pp. 171-172.)
- Snyder, Eloise C., "Attitudes: a study of homogamy and marital selectivity," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 26 (August, 1964), pp. 332-336. (Abstracted on pp. 101-102.)
- Snyder, Eloise C., "Marital selectivity in self-adjustment, social adjustment, and I.Q.," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (May, 1966), pp. 188-189. (Abstracted on pp. 102-103.)
- Sobol, Marion G., "Commitment to work," in Nye and Hoffman, op. cit., pp. 40-63. (Abstracted on pp. 166-167.)
- Spitz, Rene A., "An inquiry into the genesis of psychiatric conditions in early childhood," in Eissler, Ruth S. et al. (Eds.), The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, New York: Internal Universities Press, 1945, I, pp. 53-74.
- Spitz, Rene A. and Wolf, Donald, "Anaclitic depression: an inquiry into the genesis of psychiatric conditions in early childhood," in The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 1946, II, pp. 313-341.
- Stroup, Atlee L. and Hunter, Katherine Jamison, "Sibling position in the family and personality of offspring," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 27 (February, 1965), pp. 65-68. (Abstracted on pp. 46-47.)
- Stuckert, Robert P., "Role perception and marital satisfaction--a configurational approach," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (November, 1963), pp. 415-419. (Abstracted on pp. 118-119.)
- Sussman, Marvin B., "Needed research on the employed mother," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (November, 1961), pp. 368-373.





- Swimehart, James W., "Socio-economic level, status aspiration, and maternal role," American Sociological Review, 28 (June, 1963), pp. 391-399. (Abstracted on pp. 161-162.)
- Tharp, Roland G., "Dimensions of marriage roles," Marriage and Family Living, 25 (November, 1963), pp. 389-404. (Abstracted on pp. 119-120.)
- Turner, Ralph H., "Some aspects of women's ambition," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (November, 1964), pp. 271-285. (Abstracted on pp. 97-100.)
- Turner, Ralph H., "Some family determinants of ambition," Sociology and Social Research, 46 (July, 1962), pp. 397-411. (Abstracted on pp. 91-92.)
- Uesugi, Thomas K. and Vinacke, W. Edgar, "Strategy in a feminine game," Sociometry, 26 (March, 1963), pp. 75-88. (Abstracted on pp. 23-24.)
- Vener, Arthur M. and Snyder, Clinton A., "The preschool child's awareness and anticipation of adult sex-roles," Sociometry, 29 (June, 1966), pp. 159-168. (Abstracted on p. 25.)
- Vincent, Clark E., "Implications of changes in male-female role expectations for interpreting M-F scores," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28 (May, 1966), pp. 196-199. (Abstracted on p. 27.)
- Wallin, Paul, "Cultural contradictions and sex roles: a repeat study," American Sociological Review, 15 (April, 1950), pp. 288-293.
- Weil, Mildred W., "An analysis of the factors influencing married women's actual or planned work participation," American Sociological Review, 26 (February, 1961), pp. 91-96. (Abstracted on pp. 164-166.)
- Winch, R. F., Mate Selection, N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1958.
- Wolfe, Donald M., "Power and authority in the family," in Cartwright, Dorwin (Ed.), Studies in Social Power, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1959.
- Yarrow, Marian Radke, Scott, Phyllis, de Leeuw, Louise, and Heinig, Christine, "Child-rearing in families of working and non-working mothers," Sociometry, 25 (June, 1962), pp. 122-140. (Abstracted on pp. 159-161.)
- Zelditch, Morris, Jr., "Family, marriage, and kinship," in Faris, Robert E. (Ed.), Handbook of Modern Sociology, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964.













